NOVEMBER 1936

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BY THOREZ

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The Nineteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

NINETEEN years ago, on November 7, 1917, "the *first Bolshevik revolution* wrested the *first hundred million people* on earth from the imperialist war, from the imperialist world" (Lenin). Step by step, on the basis of this victory, by the efforts of these millions of people, in a most difficult struggle and at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, there was built up that proud, immovable structure, the U.S.S.R., which now towers above the capitalist world—the object of the hatred of the exploiters and oppressors, of reaction and fascism, the object of the love and hopes of the fighting masses of the people.

Difficult and complicated was the path traversed by the working people of the Land of the Soviets from the first decisive victory in October, from the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and landowners and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, to the final and irrevocable victory of the building of the new socialist society.

This path led through the years of the Civil War, which was forced on the people of the Soviet Union by the counter-revolutionary generals, landowners, and capitalists who were supported by the arms and money of the foreign imperialists. This path led through the defensive war waged against the direct military intervention of the German and the Entente imperialists from West, North and South, and of the Japanese imperialists from the East. This path led through the difficult work of restoring the economic life of the country which had been destroyed by war and intervention. And, finally, this victorious path led through the grand and planned reconstruction of the entire economic life of the country, in the teeth of the resistance of the remnants of the capitalist classes.

Throughout the length of this path there was not a single year when the Soviet state was guaranteed against attack from without, against the attempts by the imperialists to destroy the center of socialism in construction, by a new counter-revolutionary war. Throughout all these years, first one and then another group of imperialists drew up plans for an armed attack on the Land of the Soviets, and prepared this attack by the organization of wrecking work, espionage, and destructive work on Soviet territory itself.

In spite of all difficulties and the opposition of its enemies, socialism has triumphed in the Land of the Soviets. The triumph of socialism is the result of the enthusiasm and stubborn work of the millions of the people led by the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, and the great Stalin, the leader of the people.

It is on the basis of socialist industry built up at a pace unheard-of in the world before, on the basis of collectivized agriculture with its

tremendous technical resources, that the well-being of the working people in town and country has improved and continues unceasingly to improve, and that their cultural life is developing. In this past year, the nineteenth year of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Stakhanov movement, which came into being from the very heart of the masses themselves, spread throughout the whole of the country like a flash of lightning, thus still further increasing the high speed of economic development, and opening up boundless perspectives for raising the well-being of the people and their cultural development.

The final victory of socialism has been set down in the greatest document of our epoch, namely, in the Stalinist Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The fundamental rights of the working people, namely, the right to organization, work, rest and education—and it is these which constitute real liberty—have been inscribed on its monuments of granite. These rights and the full content of a real people's democracy are rooted in the socialist system of society brought into being, and are guaranteed in fact and materially by the existence of this system.

The *principle of peace* as the unshakable foundation of the attitude of the land of socialism to other states is set down in the Stalinist Constitution. The struggle for peace runs like a red thread throughout the whole history of the Land of the Soviets. The very October Revolution was born as the negation of imperialist war: the slogan of peace was one of the chief levers of October. The first decree of the Soviet government was that about peace. In resisting the armed intervention of the imperialists, the Land of the Soviets demonstrated its will for peace at each stage of the struggle, thereby helping to rally to its defense the working people of the interventionist states; by its consistent peace policy it hindered and reduced to nothing the continuous attempts to provoke war. The U.S.S.R. is recognized by all its old enemies as a great power, and by its initiative in the struggle against the war danger, and by its principles of the indivisibility of peace and collective security, has won itself fame as a most reliable stronghold of peace. At the present time, in contradistinction to fascist Germany which is brazenly preparing to set alight the flames of war, the Soviet Union stands forth as the chief force in the peace front, a force towards which all the countries and the people of these countries not wanting war are attracted.

The mighty Red Army, the only army created and trained not for purposes of making onslaughts or of plunder, but to defend peace, stands on guard over the peaceful labor of the people of the Land of the Soviets.

Whereas in the Soviet Union, the land of triumphant socialism, there is being completed the establishment of a real people's democracy, throughout the whole of the capitalist world, on the other hand, we see the development of the offensive of fascism which is striving to subordinate the whole of the working population to its will, to destroy the remnants of democratic liberties and rights. In the struggle of the masses of the people of all countries against fascism and for democracy, the U.S.S.R. rises up as the most powerful barrier against fascism.

The most reactionary, fascist section of the bourgeoisie does not

wish to reconcile itself to the fact that there is a country in the world where exploitation and unemployment do not exist, and where the whole of the population is by its own labor creating ever better and more joyous conditions of life. The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world where there is no basis for the penetration of fascism. The wave of fascism threatening almost all capitalist countries shatters against the granite borders of the Land of the Soviets. For this reason in the struggle against the Soviet Union fascism knows of only one weapon, namely, war. It is for this reason that the agents of fascism, sent into the U.S.S.R. from abroad, find accomplices on Soviet territory only among the degenerates, of the type of the Trotsky-Zinoviev scum and banditry.

In the struggle against fascism and for democracy, the eyes of the working people of all countries turn more and more to the great example of the Soviet Union. There was a time when the reformists used to attempt to include within the same phrase the "countries of dictatorship"—both fascist or proletarian dictatorships—and to set these against the countries of "real", *i.e.*, bourgeois democracy. But since the struggle of the people in a number of countries has flared up against fascism, and the democratic forces have, both on the initiative of the Communist Party and as a result of their persistence, begun to rally together into a united People's Front, and since the masses have begun to accumulate their own experience in this struggle, the slander as to the alleged anti-democratic character of the proletarian dictatorship has been smashed to pieces. The truth that the proletarian dictatorship is not the negation of democracy, but the highest form of real democracy, that the real people's democracy brought about in the U.S.S.R. only became possible thanks to the proletarian dictatorship, is penetrating into the minds of wide sections of the people in the capitalist countries.

The peoples of the capitalist countries are becoming more and more convinced *on the basis of their own experience* that formal democracy is not in itself a barrier against fascism, that only the united strength of the masses of the people engaged in struggle and ready stubbornly to defend every bit of their democratic rights and liberties, and ready to utilize these rights so as to crush the fascist enemy, will preserve them from the menace of the fascist dictatorship. The contrast between the weakness and cowardly hesitation of the bourgeois-democratic governments and the firm and resolute action of the Soviet government is urging the masses onto a struggle for real and active democracy.

The role of the U.S.S.R. as a barrier against the offensive of fascism and as the stronghold of peace is being especially clearly demonstrated in its support of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist rebels and Italo-German intervention.

From the very first days of the civil war, forced on them by the rebel generals, the Spanish people have felt how invaluable a support to them in their difficult struggle is the existence of the U.S.S.R. This support was expressed in the fraternal material aid rendered and continuing to be rendered to the masses of the Spanish people by the millions of the population of the Soviet Union. The moral support rendered to republican

Spain was expressed in the fact that at the time when a number of diplomatic representatives of bourgeois and democratic states hastened to quit Madrid, the U.S.S.R. for the first time sent its plenipotentiary ambassador to the capital of Spain. Support for republican Spain was expressed in the fact that, having associated itself with the non-intervention agreement proposed by the French government, the U.S.S.R. has exerted all its efforts to prevent the fascist states supplying with impunity war materials to the rebels. The most important support of the struggle of the Spanish people for liberty and democracy consists in the part played and now being played by the position and action of the people of the Soviet Union in mobilizing the people of the capitalist countries in aid of Spain.

Lenin and Stalin pointed out on numerous occasions that the Bolsheviks "were victorious not only as a result of the efforts of the working class of the U.S.S.R., but also thanks to the support of the world working class".

The present mass movement in aid of the people of Spain, which has spontaneously embraced very wide masses of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, a movement at the service of which the Communist Parties in all countries have placed all their forces, is receiving a most powerful stimulus by the position and action of the people of the Soviet Union. It was in their name that Comrade Stalin said that:

> "The liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind."

These words of our great leader have met with a most lively response in the hearts of millions of working people in the capitalist countries. The declaration made on October 7 by the representative of the Soviet government in the London Non-Intervention Committee, and the later statements made by the representative of the Soviet Union, exposing and denouncing the cynical perfidy of the fascist interventionists, have thundered forth throughout the whole world.

The campaign in aid of the Spanish people is still in its primary stages. It still possesses tremendous reserves. *The campaign in aid of the Spanish people can and must be increased tenfold, both in its scope and in its effectiveness.*

The most important condition for the complete effectiveness of the developing struggle of the people in aid of republican Spain is international solidarity in this struggle, is *internal unity.* During the battles in Asturias in 1934 the Communist International called on the Socialist International to establish a united proletarian front in defense of the working people of Spain. From the very first moment of the present fascist rebellion, the Communist International has made the proposal to the Socialist International to unite forces for a common campaign of effective solidarity with the people of Spain. The leaders of the Socialist International, however, stubbornly refuse to undertake joint action. They do this in spite of the fact that the absence of unity is

resulting in substantially weakening the struggle in aid of republican Spain. They refuse to recognize that the united front brought about in Spain itself renders it obligatory to bring about unity of action by all who are engaged in rendering support to the heroic Spanish fighters.

In spite of all difficulties and obstacles, the Communists who are basing themselves on the growing urge of the workers for unity will strive with redoubled energy to bring about united action with their Socialist class brothers in the struggle to aid the Spanish people.

In the trenches near Madrid, the Spanish workers—Communist, Socialists and Anarchist—are defending their revolutionary capital in desperate battles. *In the situation which has arisen the weight of international action in support of their struggle may prove to be decisive for the fate of the Spanish people, for the fate of the people of the whole of Europe.* For this reason united action on an international scale as well must be brought about at all costs in spite of the saboteurs of the united front.

* * *

The heroic struggle of the Spanish people has once again placed on the order of the day all the questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics which were solved at various periods of the Russian revolution. It has set them in a new fashion, corresponding with the special features of Spanish conditions and the peculiar features of the present world situation. It is solving them on the basis of its own experience, frequently groping in the dark, and at the expense of mistakes which at times cost it dearly.

To the extent that the Spanish revolution develops, and to the extent that the struggle of the people against the offensive of reaction and fascism in all capitalist countries gains in intensity, there is growing and there will continue to grow among the vanguard of the proletariat a most lively interest in the study and assimilation of the experience of the October Revolution, in the study of the path which led to October, to the direct preparation for October, and the study of the experience of all the stages of the struggle, after the victory of October, to maintain and consolidate Soviet power, and of all stages of socialist construction.

The assertion repeated year after year by the opponents of Bolshevism that the Communists allegedly preach the "copying" in all countries of Russian Bolshevik patterns, and "slavish imitations", etc., was a slander against Bolshevism. Nobody more than Lenin and Stalin insisted on the need for taking account of the special features of the revolution in each country. Nobody more than they stressed the particular features of the specific process of development of the Russian revolution, the "originality" of definite and decisive situations. Nobody more than they made such a thoroughgoing and penetrating study of men and things, of objective data and subjective factors, and of the historical traditions of the human beings making history. Had they acted otherwise they would not have been what they really were, *the greatest revolutionary victors in the history of the human race.*

Both Lenin and Stalin demand of all Bolsheviks that side by side

with a most strict adherence to principle, they display the maximum of concreteness, and make themselves thoroughly acquainted with all the special features of the problem requiring to be solved. In his famous article, "The Third International and Its Place in History", Lenin wrote as follows:

> "If any Marxist, or even any person acquainted at all with modern science, is asked the question: 'Is it likely that the transition of the various capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat will be of an even character and harmonically proportional?' he will, without a doubt, answer this question in the negative. There never has been nor could there be evenness, harmony or proportion in the capitalist world. Each country has developed especially prominently one or other side or feature or group. . . .
>
> "World history is marching inexorably to the dictatorship of the proletariat, but is doing so by far from smooth, simple and direct paths."

Comrade Dimitroff, who applies Lenin-Stalinist revolutionary dialectics to the problems of the international working class movement, wages a merciless struggle against stock phrases and schematism, which are fatal for revolutionary realism and real revolutionary creative work.

The thorough assimilation of the great Russian experience will be of invaluable service to the Spanish revolutionaries in solving the urgent questions which face them.

One of the most important lessons which follow both from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and from the whole history of the revolution in Russia is the doctrine of the role of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. The whole of the Spanish experience goes to confirm the correctness of this doctrine. The role of the Communist Party of Spain, which not so long ago was still small in numbers and weakly connected with the masses, has grown tremendously in the last few years and especially during the present battles. Thanks to the tremendous increase of its influence, thanks to the correctness of its slogans and proposals which are being confirmed by the development of events, thanks to its stubborn and skillful struggle for unity, an unswerving process is going on in the Socialist Party and in the ranks of the Anarcho-Syndicalists of approximation to the position of the Communist Party, while the pre-conditions are being created for the establishment of a single revolutionary party of the proletariat. If the experience of October and of the periods prior to and after October are studied and assimilated not only by the Communists, but also by their allies in the People's Front, this can substantially speed up this process.

The Spanish revolution itself, the biggest liberation struggle of the masses of the people since the days of October, is in its turn a real treasury of living experience for the proletariat and the working people of the other capitalist countries. New and stable forms of bringing about the fighting solidarity of the masses of the people are being hammered out in the fire of the Spanish revolution, while militant popu

lar democracy is receiving a new content. That for which the masses of the Spanish people are now waging an heroic struggle is not as yet the proletarian dictatorship, nor is it socialism, but it is not the usual bourgeois democracy in which the capitalist classes have the hegemony. It is democracy of the people with the hegemony in the hands of the working classes, a democracy which once and for all smashes the backbone of fascism and reaction, and opens up the road to the building of new political and social forms.

The Spanish experience is therefore of tremendous and direct importance for all countries in which decisive conflicts are maturing against fascism, against the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie.

* * *

Various bourgeois governments and their agents are attempting to justify their tolerant attitude towards the counter-revolutionary intervention of the fascist states in the affairs of Spain by their desire to preserve the peace, by the sophistic and lying argument that resolute action by their governments after the example given by the U.S.S.R., would upset Hitler and Mussolini and would lead to the outbreak of war. Exactly the opposite is true! *The only thing that can curb the brazen fascist war provocateurs, and they have become brazen precisely because of the capitulation of the bourgeois democratic governments, is the unification of all forces standing for peace, is decisive action by them.* Peace cannot be saved by being lenient to the warmongers, by betraying the Spanish people.

Millions of working people, of the enemies of fascist barbarism, of the ardent friends of peace already recognize this. They understand that only by following the bold initiative of the U.S.S.R., by lining up with it and developing the most effective support for the heroic people of Spain, can the world be saved and the nightmare of war which is hanging over Europe and over the whole world be dispersed. But these millions are only the vanguard of the millions of people who need to be drawn into active struggle against fascism and war. If a victorious struggle is to be waged against fascism and war, what is needed is the *closest fighting unification of all their forces in each country*, and what is wanted, now more than at any other time, *is the international unification of all the forces of democracy and peace.*

The urgent task of the day is to extend and consolidate the international fighting front which is being built up against fascism and war.

If the masses of the people who possess such a powerful buttress of peace and such an impenetrable barrier against fascism in the U.S.S.R. unite their forces in each separate country and on an international scale, they will be victorious!

They will be victorious throughout the whole world!

Spain in the Struggle Against Fascism

FOR almost three months the Spanish people have been carrying on a heroic struggle against the fascist insurgents.

Workers from Madrid and Catalonia, peasants from Andalusia and Estremadura, office employees, professors, poets and musicians, are fighting shoulder to shoulder at the front. The whole nation is conducting a life-and-death struggle against a handful of generals, enemies of peace and liberty, who, with the aid of the cutthroat soldiers of the Foreign Legion and duped Moroccan troops, want to restore the rule of the landlords and the church, and to sell the country piecemeal to the German and Italian fascists.

This is a struggle of the millions for bread and liberty, for land and work, for the independence of their country. It is a struggle of democracy against the dark forces of reaction and fascism. It is a struggle of the republic against those who are violating the orderly life and peaceful labor of the workers and peasants. It is a struggle against the instigators of war; it is a struggle for peace.

The relationship of class forces in Spain is such that fascism has the vast majority of the Spanish people against it, that the people, united in the alliance of the working class, peasants, and working people of the towns, would long since have settled with the revolt, were it not that behind the backs of the Spanish fascists stand the forces of world reaction, and first and foremost, German and Italian fascism.

* * *

On April 14, 1931, the monarchy was overthrown in Spain and the republic was victorious. A revolution commenced, the fulfilment and victory of which stretched over a number of years.

After the bankruptcy of the policy of the coalition government which cleared the path for fascism, after the temporary triumph of reaction which won a victory at the elections in the autumn of 1933, after the bloody suppression of the armed struggle of the Asturian miners in October, 1934, the masses of the people began rapidly to gather their forces for determined resistance to fascism.

In the autumn of 1935, a powerful anti-fascist People's Front began to be gathered together.

In the attempt to bar the path against the People's Front, the reactionary fascist camp hastily fixed the elections to the Cortes earlier than the appointed time. Fascism hoped for victory, but was mistaken.

The camps of both fascism and democracy made energetic preparations for the elections of the new Cortes. The leader of the fascist organization *C.E.D.A.*, Gil Robles, elaborated a plan for "introducing order" into the country, and for the destruction of the working class parties

and the organizations of the People's Front. On the other hand, the forces of the People's Front grew and gathered strength. On the initiative of the Communist Party, an agreement among the parties and groups participating in the People's Front was made at the end of 1935. These were, first and foremost, the proletarian parties and organizations, namely, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the General Federation of Labor (the united trade union organization), the League of Socialist Youth and the Syndicalist Party (led by Pestana); then there were groups of petty-bourgeois republicans, Left Republicans (Azana) and the Republican Union (Martinez Barrio).

The slogans of the People's Front reached wide circles of the population, and became a banner of struggle for the masses.

The elections of February 16 ended in a splendid victory for the People's Front. The parties of the People's Front obtained 253 seats in the Cortes (the working class parties holding 112), while the Rights received 135 and the Center 65.

Although the elections of February 16 dealt a heavy blow at reaction in Spain, the enemy was nevertheless not routed. The enemies of the people had tremendous material forces in their hands, namely, the land and the incalculable wealth of the banks and the church. During the period that they had been in power, they had fortified their positions in the state apparatus and in the army. The authority of the church was on their side. The mass basis of the fascist parties had not yet been destroyed.

It was beyond doubt that the enemy would not fail to use all the positions they held, all their forces, and all the power of their organizations to prepare a decisive blow at the gains won by the people. It was beyond doubt that a clash between the two forces that had been engaged in struggle against each other for six years, a clash between the two organized camps—the camp of fascism and the camp of democracy—was inevitable.

What were the tactics of counter-revolution after the victory of the People's Front and the formation of the Left Republican government of Azana? The enemy acted along three lines: the organization of economic sabotage, terroristic acts against the leaders of the People's Front—prominent Communists and Socialists—and preparation for a military revolt.

The basic and central task which the reaction set itself was to prepare the armed revolt. Economic sabotage, acts of provocation and terror were auxiliary means for the fulfilment of this main task. They were intended to create a situation where discontent would arise among the masses of the population, thus facilitating the carrying through of the revolt, for which the fascists began to prepare immediately after the outcome of the election of February 16.

"Leave the army alone, no politics in the army," such was the slogan of reaction, under cover of which it prepared to transform the army into a political weapon of the counter-revolution. Behind the back of the government, the fascists carried on intensive work to strengthen

their positions in the army. The fascist generals carried on a despicable game against the republican government, lulling its vigilance by hypocritical assurances of loyalty to the republic and the constitution.

While swearing their loyalty to the republic, the fascist-monarchist generals assigned the officers in the army to their places, carried through transfers of army units, built up reserves of ammunition, gathered together fighting detachments outside the army, drew up secret codes and passwords, and developed a wide-flung network of counter-revolutionary conspiracy that stretched from Morocco and the Balearic Islands to Madrid.

Apart from the technical preparations and the preliminary distribution of forces, the insurgents set themselves the task of seizing the main lines of communication in the country. The plan of the revolt, carefully prepared, provided for the rapid seizure of the main strategic centers. Foreseeing possible resistance in each town and district, the organizers of the rising in good time stationed trustworthy forces in the old fortresses.

The fascist monarchist counter-revolution, relying on the strength of all its organizations, secretly prepared for civil war all along the line.

What was being done at that time by the Azana government, and then by the Quiroga government, which relied for support on the parties and organizations of the People's Front? The Azana government proceeded to carry out the program of the People's Front.

But the imprint of moderation and irresolution lay on all the measures of the Left Republican government. The situation in the country (sabotage, direct preparations for the fascist revolt) demanded sharper measures in the struggle against the fascist danger, against devastation and hunger, demanded decisive measures so as to clean up the army and the state apparatus. The government did not notice the intrigues in the fascist-monarchist camp, and placed far too much faith in the assurances of the reactionary officers (Franco, Goded, Mola). This credulity led to the government being caught to a considerable degree unawares by the events of July 18.

The Communist Party knew that fascism would not surrender without a struggle. It understood that a conspiracy against the government was in preparation, although it had not the threads in its hands as yet. The Communists in the Cortes exposed the preparations for the revolt. Day after day, the Communist press showed up the machinations of the counter-revolution, sounded the alarm about the sabotage of the employers, about the speculation being carried on in foreign currency, called for vigilance, and for decisive blows to be struck at the enemies of the republic.

But the Communist Party at the same time realized that it must not break with the government in spite of its waverings. A break with the Azana government would have meant splitting the People's Front, and a split in the camp of the People's Front would have played into the hands of the fascists. While supporting the government, the Communist Party nevertheless criticized its weaknesses and mistakes, taught the

masses from these mistakes, organized the pressure of these masses on the government along the road of resolute struggle against fascism.

During the days immediately preceding the revolt, the Communist Party again warned the government and the people of the approaching danger. The Central Committee of the Communist Party proposed that the government arm the Communist, Socialist and Anarchist workers for defense against the fascist offensive that was being prepared.

* * *

The plan of the revolt was drawn up in such a way at the outset as to mislead the government as to the extent of the plot. The rebels decided to begin the rising in Morocco so as to distract the attention of the government from the events inside the country, and then to raise the revolt throughout Spain. They calculated on carrying the army with them, on bringing in the navy and, with its help, landing a big army of Moroccans and soldiers of the Foreign Legion in the south of Spain, to advance northward in two columns—on the one hand to the capital, and on the other to Murcia and Valencia, the basis of Madrid's food supplies. At the same time, General Mola was to have marched on Madrid from the north. And General Sanjurjo, one of the chief organizers of the revolt, who had been living in Germany, was to have become the commander-in-chief of all the rebel forces.

On the night of July 17 and 18, the revolt broke out in Morocco. At the same time General Goded began a revolt in the Canary Islands. Throughout the rest of Spain, "quiet" reigned. The government imagined that by despatching the fleet to Morocco and arresting a group of fascists it had been able to avert a revolt inside the country. But on the night of July 18 and 19, the radio station at Ceuta sent out the agreed signal—"There is a cloudless sky throughout all Spain". These words were the signal for the revolt to begin.

On July 18 revolts broke out in the north of Spain, in Navarre and Old Castile. These were the only provinces where the rebels had a mass basis composed of reactionary kulak peasants. Simultaneously, action was taken in various parts of the country—in Barcelona, Seville, Saragossa, Valladolid. All the military districts were involved in the revolt. The majority of the army supported the rebels. Only in the first district (Madrid), the third (Valencia) and the fourth (Barcelona) did they not obtain the support of all the soldiers. On the other hand, the second divisional district (with the exception of the 17th Infantry regiment in Malaga) and the soldiers of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th divisional districts, as well as the regular troops in Morocco, the Canary Islands and partly in the Balearic Islands went over to the side of the rebels.

In the north, the rebels succeeded in concentrating in their hands 36 infantry battalions, 72 batteries of light artillery, six batteries of heavy artillery, two cavalry regiments, a tank regiment and other auxiliary units. In the south, they had at their disposal from the outset six infantry battalions, one cavalry regiment, one or two artillery regiments.

In addition, General Franco, with the aid of Germany and Italy, succeeded in transferring from Morocco about 20,000 out of the 50,000 soldiers stationed there. In all, during the first days there were about 60,000 soldiers on the side of the rebels.

If we examine the relationship of forces according to types of arms, we find that the vast majority of the infantry was on the side of the rebels; the artillery was about equally divided, while a large section of the air fleet remained loyal to the republic. At the beginning of the struggle, the fascists had few airplanes. The navy introduced big changes into the plans of the rebels. With the exception of the "Almirante Servera", the navy was entirely on the side of the republic.* During the very first days, in reply to the attempt to bring the navy into the revolt, the sailors threw their officers into the sea. The sailors of the battleship "Jaime I" shot down their officers with machine guns, and threw their bodies into the sea, while the radio operator sent out the message: "The Jaime I is loyal to the people." The loyalty of the fleet to the republic made it difficult for General Franco to transfer troops from Morocco. He could only do this to a partial extent and not in the first few days as the rebels had expected, but later.

In spite of the loyalty of the navy and the great majority of the air fleet, the government was in a difficult position during the first days. It had few weapons. The troops at the disposal of the republic were plainly insufficient to offer up successful resistance to the numerically and technically superior forces of the insurgents. It should be remembered that apart from the troops, the rebels had at their disposal about 20,000 members of the Civil Guard (the gendarmerie), detachments of the Storm Guard, the militarized detachments of the "Spanish Phalanx" and the Navarre Carlists (supporters of monarchy in the province of Navarre).

The government was bewildered by the fact that the greater part of the armed forces were on the side of the rebels. Rumors were spread in Madrid that under the pressure of the big bourgeoisie the government was prepared to make a compromise. Hoping to split a section of the army and some circles of officers away from the rebels, President Azana proposed that a government be organized of a more moderate type, with Martinez Barrio at the head. The working class organizations, and first and foremost the Communist Party, were against such a government. They demanded the most resolute struggle against the fascist rebels. Azana took heed of the voice of the masses. He understood that the working class was the cement binding together the People's Front, that to quarrel with the working class meant to destroy the republic. He made his choice in favor of an honest alliance with the working class, and formed the Jose Giral government. The seriousness of the situation demanded the adoption of resolute measures. The Communist Party, reflecting the will of the workers, proposed that the people be armed. The newly organized government carried out the demand of the workers'

* Considerably later the fascists succeeded in repairing the battleship "Espana" and the cruiser "Canarias", but the cruiser "Almirante Servera" was put out of action.

organizations. This was the decisive moment. Had the republican government not armed the workers, Madrid and Barcelona would have been in the hands of the rebels.

On July 19 in Madrid a revolt broke out in the La Montana barracks, which constitute a real fortress. In it were 14,000 soldiers under the command of reactionary officers. The workers had 2,000 rifles when they stormed the approaches to the La Montana barracks. But it was not only the armed Workers' Militia that marched against those entrenched in the barracks; all the Madrid workers took action against them. A few hours after the beginning of the revolt it was crushed. On the same day, the rebels tried to take action in the military camps (Carabanchel, Quatro Vientos, Getafe, Vicalviro) situated near Madrid. This attempt also broke down. But it was early as yet to celebrate victory.

According to plan, General Mola began to advance on Madrid from the north. Occupying Aragon, Saragossa, Navarre and Old Castile, Mola's troops advanced in two columns on Madrid over the mountain range of Sierra Guadarrama. Learning of the new danger that threatened the capital, the workers' organizations formed five regiments of Workers' Militia. These regiments, together with units from the Madrid garrison and reinforcements from Valencia, held up the advance on Madrid.

Simultaneously the revolt was crushed in the big industrial center of Barcelona. The rebels had placed great hopes on Barcelona. A large number of troops had been concentrated there. General Goded came from the Belearic Islands to direct the action taken. But the people prepared to resist the rebels properly. At the demand of the masses, the Catalonian government armed the people on the night of July 18-19. On the morning of the 19th, detachments of the People's Militia were stationed in all the most important points of the city. Suspecting nothing, the soldiers found themselves faced with organized resistance. After a bloody fight lasting 14 hours, the rebels were defeated, and their leaders (including General Goded) were arrested and later shot by sentence of the tribunal. After crushing the revolt in Barcelona, the Catalonian People's Militia moved off to besiege Saragossa and to defend the mountain passes leading to Madrid.

The rebels were also unsuccessful in their attempt to cut off Madrid from its food basis. In Valencia the revolt was nipped in the bud. The same took place in Albacete.

Events took a worse turn in Asturias. Here the commander of the 3rd Infantry regiment, Colonel Aranda, who pretended to be a supporter of the republic, tricked the vigilance of the workers' organizations. He instructed them to gather the workers to receive arms, but met them with machine gun fire, and seized Oviedo and Gijon.

A fierce struggle broke out in the south of Spain. General Llano with the help of troops landed from Morocco succeeded in seizing Cadiz and later Seville.

* * *

The government, with the aid of the armed people, succeeded in

warding off the first blow of the insurgents. In the very first days of the revolt, 60,000 workers were armed. They formed the People's Militia, which fought side by side with the troops who had remained faithful to the government. The People's Militia were hastily established and armed with rifles, machine guns, artillery and armored cars, that had been left, and naturally had no uniform organization. Whereas the Madrid Militia were organized after the army type—in battalions and with commanders elected and confirmed by the War Ministry, in Catalonia, on the contrary, thanks to the Anarchists, the Militia had a collective command. The commander here was merely a military adviser. Although the workers who joined the Militia knew nothing of the military art, and had to learn as they went on, the workers' battalions literally performed miracles. In the first few weeks of the struggle, some of the militia detachments became firm military units.

The best workers' regiment is the 5th Communist regiment, formed by the Communist Party during the first few days of the revolution. It is universally recognized to be a model regiment, the backbone of the entire defense of the republic.

The government had not only to form armed forces capable of fighting against the rebels, but also to develop commanding officers. Eighty per cent of the officers proved to be on the side of the rebels. The revolution brought forward its own commanders. A number of talented commanders and good strategists have already developed. The People's Militia has brought forward such commanders as Asencia and Mangada. In the recent past a second lieutenant, Mangada has developed during the revolution into an important army commander. He has succeeded in grouping people around himself, in building up a regiment around which legends are already growing. At first General Mangada had a small detachment of 500 workers. In the course of two months this detachment grew into a regiment of over 5,000 disciplined and well-armed men.

The armed people of Spain are astonishing the world by their heroism and self-sacrifice.

The first months of the struggle against fascism have written many noble pages in the history of the revolutionary people of Spain. It was only due to the self-sacrifice of the masses that the government troops succeeded in beating back the onslaught of the rebels against the main centers of the country, and in taking the offensive in a number of places. Spain has virtually been split into two parts, republican and fascist. Out of the fifty Spanish provinces, eighteen (with a population of 8,000,000) are in the hands of the republicans, and in fifteen military operations are taking place. Finally there are seventeen provinces with a population of 7,000,000 in addition to a number of regional centers such as Grenada, Cordova, Huesca, Tiruel, Saragossa, Oviedo and Toledo that are completely in the hands of the rebels.

A frightful White terror reigns in the provinces occupied by the rebels, by comparison with which the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition of the middle ages fade into insignificance.

In Badajos, all who had hardened hands or signs of having used rifles were seized. Then 1,500 people were driven into the arena of the bull ring, and shot down with machine guns in the presence of the highest society. In addition, 400 people seeking shelter in Portugal were shot down near the border. The fascist General Queipo de Llano informed the world by radio that he had fulfilled his program. He had set himself the aim of slaughtering 3,000 Marxists in Seville and he had killed 5,000. Shootings are carried on methodically in Seville. Not long ago, the whole of the population of one street were shot.

In Cordova, over 1,200 workers were shot. In the little town of Baen, all members of trade unions were hunted down. Out of 375 members, 296 were shot. The frenzied bandits in Irun fired at the women and children who were fleeing to French territory. The fascist gangs that burst into the village of Arajal locked the population in their houses over which they poured gasoline, and then set fire to them. Men, women and children perished in the flames.

The provinces which are in the hands of the rebels are being converted into deserts. Towns are being set fire to, and the working population is doomed to wholesale destruction. Robbery, violence and swashbuckling tyranny reign wherever the generals are masters.

And in the districts where the republican government is in power militant solidarity exists, and all efforts are concentrated on the organization of victory. Factories and mills are being adapted to the needs of the front. Factories whose owners are rebels or have gone abroad are managed by workers' committees. The peasants, who have dreamed for centuries of owning their own land, have received the lands of the church and of landlords who sided with the insurgents. Under the protection of the People's Militia, they are sowing their land and gathering the harvest. At the first call of the government and the workers' organizations, hundréds of working people give up their work and go voluntarily to the front.

What are the results of the first phase of the struggle? The first phase of struggle has shown that the people are ready to fight to the last drop of blood, that the working people of free Spain would rather die than surrender to the mercies of the fascist conquerers. "It is better to die standing than live on your knees," said Dolores, expressing the unanimous will of the people. The rebels did not succeed in taking the peoples unawares, in drowning the revolution in blood and in establishing a fascist dictatorship. The rebels have no support among the people. Their strength lies in the bayonets of hirelings and kulaks' sons, and in the airplanes, arms and men that they receive from the Italian and German fascists. On the other hand, the republican troops have not succeeded in striking a decisive blow at the rebels, who have a smoothly working military organization and an army well supplied with technical equipment.

The first phase of the struggle has brought to light a series of weak points in the defense of the republic. While the enemy has a united command, a single well-worked-out strategic plan, the republican

troops have acted in scattered groups. The absence of a single command hindered the republic from the very outset in gathering its forces into a single striking force. The government had no united plan for the liquidation of the revolt. Every province acted on its own discretion, defending its own borders first and foremost, without taking into account the general situation in the country. A striking example of the lack of organization, the absence of a united plan and action, was the prolonged struggle carried on by the Catalonian People's Militia for the island of Majorca. Instead of utilizing their existing forces to seize all the chief strategic points in the hands of the rebels, to help the troops in action at Saragossa and the Sierra Guadarrama, the Catalonians, after crushing the revolt in Barcelona, concentrated their forces on the seizure of the island of Majorca, which is not of major importance as far as concerns the outcome of the struggle.

The lack of military commanders greatly impeded the struggle. People who had never commanded military units were forced to lead big bodies of men, while against them there were well armed units led by military specialists. The formation of a strong body of commanding officers is one of the chief tasks facing the republican government.

Finally, a big shortcoming has been the lack of strict military discipline. The People's Militia, which has displayed great heroism, has often lacked the discipline involving the rapid and exact fulfilment of the orders of commanding officers.

The situation demanded resolute measures to organize the Militia, demanded the formation of a real army.

Such are the results of the first phase of the struggle, which have not given the republican people a decisive superiority over the organizers of the civil war—the fascist generals and the mutineers.

* * *

The struggle that has dragged out for months has now entered a new and more difficult phase. It has outgrown the national bounds. On Spanish territory the forces that have clashed are those of democracy and international fascism. Germany, as well as Italy, is actively supporting the rebels. It is the help received from European fascism that is the main source fostering the civil war in Spain.

Proof of the support being given to the rebels by Germany, Italy and Portugal is provided by innumerable facts. As early as July 31, the *Daily Herald* reported the despatch of 28 airplanes, with bombs, shells and other military stores from Hamburg to Spain. On August 13 19 German airplanes arrived in Seville. A further 24 airplanes landed in Seville on August 14. On September 2, after the non-intervention agreement had been signed, Germany sent a new consignment of airplanes, guns and ammunition to Portugal for the Spanish rebels. On the same day a German steamer arrived in Cadiz, with 25 airplanes aboard. The German consulates in Spain have become bases for the rebels, who have German military advisers. Germany is providing the rebels with airplanes, tanks and men. German bombing planes (of the new Heink

type with a speed of 400 kilometers an hour) and the latest kinds of tanks are constantly arriving at the fronts of the civil war in Spain, and highly skilled German airmen take part in the fighting. German warships are being concentrated in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean.

And the whole world is aware of the help being given to the insurgents by Italy. Not less than 100 airplanes, mostly bombing planes, have been sent to the insurgents from Italy. The best airmen of the Italian air fleet are in action on the side of the rebels. On September 11, the Italian steamer "Nereida" landed 30 airmen and mechanics, and unloaded airplanes on the island of Majorca. Italy is supplying the insurgent forces with officers. On September 9, a hundred officers of the Italian militia arrived in Spain through Portugal, armed with false passports.

Italy has virtually occupied the island of Majorca (the Balearic Islands), which is in the possession of the rebels. An Italian legion has been formed on the island. The general command of all the armed forces there has passed into the hands of the Italian emissary, Count de Rossi. The approaches to Majorca from the sea are guarded by Italian cruisers.

All these facts go to show that the fascist warmongers are cynically helping the forces of reaction in Spain. They have chosen Spain as a jumping-off ground from which to wreak bloody vengeance on an awakening people and provoke a new world war. Were the fascist insurgents in Spain to be victorious it would mean a blow at the People's Front in other countries, and first and foremost in France. It would make it possible for Germany and Italy to consolidate their position in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic Ocean in preparation for a new redivision of the globe.

This aid to the rebels from the fascist countries (while the lawful government is virtually blockaded) is creating special difficulties for the struggle of the revolutionary people. The rebels have succeeded in strengthening their forces with new equipment, powerful aviation, artillery and skilled military specialists.

These are difficulties of an external order. No less important are the internal difficulties. The civil war is dragging on. The rebels have occupied a series of important points, and have set themselves the central strategic and political task of occupying Madrid. So long as the forces of the rebels were divided into two groups—the northern and the southern—all attempts to advance on Madrid were unsuccessful. The establishment of contact between the two groups, the transfer of the msot reliable units, the Foreign Legion and the Moroccan Riflemen, to Estramadura, have made it possible for the rebels to surround Madrid on three sides—north, west and south. A direct threat hangs over the capital. Whether the center of the revolution will be saved depends entirely on how far the republican troops and working population of the capital are in a position to fight, on their organization and discipline.

It is in this situation that a new government was organized on

September 4, headed by Largo Caballero, the leader of the Left wing of the Socialist Party. The fascists of all countries and their lackeys are depicting the Largo Caballero government as being practically the dictatorship of the proletariat, and speak of it as a "Red", "Bolshevik" government.

Nothing could be more incorrect than such an estimate of the Caballero government. It is the government of the parties of the People's Front, including the Left bourgeois republican parties, the Catalonian Lefts, the Socialist and Communist Parties, and the Basque nationalists. The task of this government, as of the government that preceded it, is to defend the republic, to defeat the military-fascist revolt.

The central task is to "coordinate all the forces of the people", as the government declaration demands, to gather the forces of revolutionary democracy into a single striking force, to establish real fighting discipline and organization, and to begin a struggle against the disorganizers, the enemies of the people. This enemy, however, is ensconced not only on the other side of the war front, but also in the districts occupied by the government troops, spreading petty-bourgeois laxity and slackness, and philistine individualism. This domestic enemy is a dangerous one, and is many-faced. He possesses arms but does not go to the front. He does not go to the front, but does not hand over his weapons to those who are fighting at the front. If he happens to go to the front, he replaces discipline by discussions on discipline. He disobeys military orders and is the first to run from the field of battle. He opens up the front, subjecting his comrades to the danger of being wiped out, because his "individuality" cannot bear the whistle of bullets, the roar of shells, sleepless nights and war alarms. He prefers to "guard" the revolution in the rear, while others lay down their lives for the cause of liberty at the front.

It is no easy task to overcome this enemy, and is complicated by the fact that the parties of the People's Front do not form a solid united force. Within the People's Front there are elements who in practice frequently resist the establishment of real discipline and order. This applies first and foremost to the Anarchists, who still possess considerable influence in Spain.

The influence of Anarchism is the main weakness of the working class movement in Spain. How is it to be explained that Anarchism has maintained its influence in Spain whereas it has long been outlived almost all over the world, to the degree that the capitalist mode of production has grown, and the working class movement developed?

It is to be explained, in the first place, by the petty-bourgeois character of the country, conditioned by the backwardness of the economic life of the country, and the considerable role played in it by small production. Anarchism is the product of the under-development of capitalism, of the dispersed and scattered character of its production and working class, of the immaturity of the workers' organizations, a product of the influence of the petty bourgeoisie over the working class.

It is to be explained, in the second place, by the feudal relics in the

state structure of Spain, by the isolation and particularism of its provinces, resulting in the dissipation of the state powers, and the entrenchment of the power of the local potentates, the so-called caciques (gentry). The particularism of the provinces creates the basis for anti-centralist tendencies. Anarchism always advances dismemberment and federalism in opposition to the idea of a centralized movement, and the mustering of all the forces of the working class into a single force.

It is to be explained, in the third place, by the existence of a tremendous stratum of declassed elements. Thousands of people, who have been without work for many years, and have degenerated into lumpen proletarians, form favorable ground for the influence of Anarchism. It is from these declassed elements that fascism recruits the so-called pistoleros—people who carry out terroristic murders.

Wherein lies the harm of Anarchist tactics at the present stage of struggle for the victory of the democratic revolution?

The Anarchists even now are advocating the establishment of a "new social order" of anarcho-communism as an immediate practical task. The Anarchists consider that Spain has already entered the stage of the Communist revolution, of the "fundamental remaking of class society". Failing to understand the essence of the events now taking place in Spain and the character of the revolution that has developed, the Anarchists are trying to "push" the revolution ahead. The more difficult the situation becomes at the front owing to the support of the rebels by German and Italian fascism, the more energetically they are "pushing on" the development of the revolution, thus threatening to narrow its social basis. This is shown by the proposals to hand over all the factories to the trade unions.

If this proposal were carried out, it would cause great harm to the struggle against fascism. The transfer of the factories to separate groups of workers and scattered trade union federations would be a blow at the defense of the republic. The task of serving the needs of the front cannot be solved along the lines of decentralizing the leadership of the economic life of the country. In addition, the seizure of the fac tories of the small and middle bourgeoisie would strike at circles which are today supporting the democratic republic and the People's Front. Such a measure could only drive these strata into the camp of reaction. Such "pushing" of the revolution could have a fatal effect on its further development.

The tendency to "push" the revolution is clearly emphasized in the proposal immediately to collectivize the peasant farm. In some places the Anarchists are trying to carry this idea into practice, by forcing the peasants to join collective farms. The path to collectivization is a long and difficult one. Collectivization is a task of the proletarian revolution, and is carried out by the proletariat after a whole series of preparatory measures have been taken: the establishment of a powerful industry, the provision of a machine basis for agriculture, the re-education of the peasants, etc. Can there be any question of collectivization in the period of the democratic revolution, the central problem before which is the

transfer of the big estates of the landowners to the peasants? Compulsory collectivization, the "pushing" of the revolution along this line, simply plays into the hands of the enemy.

The harm done by Anarchism is also expressed in all kinds of feverish "reorganization". The frequent changes of governments and other organs of power provoked by the Anarchists interfere with the organization of defense, and set the nerves of the masses on edge. At the sharpest moment for the defense of the republic, namely, during the breach of the Talavera front by the rebels—the Madrid Anarcho-Syndicalist federation called a meeting dealing with the differences of program between themselves and other workers' organizations. On the day when fierce fighting was taking place near Toledo, the Anarchists were busy with the reorganization of the government of Catalonia. During days which were most serious for Madrid, as when the enemy was only 50 to 60 kilometers from the city, the Anarchists were occupied in drawing up a plan for reorganizing the central Madrid government. A plenary session of the C.N.T.* demanded the formation of a national committee, and the conversion of the ministries into departments, etc.

The harm being done by Anarchism, and its influence, is also expressed in the fact that some of the supporters of the Anarchist organizations (and sometimes people who hide behind the Anarchist flag) violate revolutionary order, sow the elements of an anti-social regime such as knows of no revolutionary law. Such a regime, where everyone does as he wishes, and where there is no order, discipline and law, can only give rise to discontent among the population.

Finally, the harm done by Anarchism and its influence lies in the denial of the need for military discipline, in the rejection of organization and the centralization of the leadership. At a time when all forces need to be mustered and all actions to be united for the struggle against the military fascist revolt, the Anarchists oppose the centralization of the leadership of the armed forces, oppose the decision of the government to form a republican army, and oppose a united plan and discipline.

The Anarchists propagate the idea of indiscipline and are full of praise for it. On August 28, in the newspaper *D'Espan Anti-fascista*, a monstrous article entitled "The Organization of Indiscipline" signed by three Anarchist organizations in Spain—the C.N.T., the F.A.I. and the A.I.T.—was published. It was a hymn of praise to indiscipline and unbridled passion.

In addition, however, to the petty-bourgeois, declassed, and hostile elements in the Anarchist movement there are also healthy proletarian elements. The Anarchist workers, in spite of the wishes of their leaders, fought bravely in 1934 side by side with the Communist and Socialist workers at the barricades in Asturias. From the first days of the fascist revolt, thousands of Anarchist workers have been fighting and have died heroically in battle against the fascist gangs. And among the leaders of the Anarcho-Syndicalists there are such honest, courageous

* Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo—National Confederation of Labor.

proletarian fighters as Duruti, and Oliver Garcia. Within the Anarchist Confederation of Labor itself there is growing up a healthy feeling in favor of order, a strong army, discipline, and the Leninist conception of the role of the state and state power.

This is an indication that considerable sections of the workers who follow the Anarchists are beginning to outlive their Anarcho-Syndicalist illusions.

The foulest and most despicable role in Spain is being played in the present serious situation by the Trotskyists, who are a miserable little group, lately reinforced, it is true, by an influx of Trotskyist elements from other countries. Not long ago, the reactionary French journalist de Kerillis, who works hand in glove with the French police, made a sensational statement in the *Echo de Paris* to the effect that, according to incontrovertible proofs in possession of the French police, the so-called Fourth International (Trotskyist) is in the closest connections with the Gestapo, and is being utilized by the latter to carry on disintegrating work in the ranks of the world working class movement.

And there is no doubt that the well-informed Querilis has made no mistake in this case. The trial of the leaders of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist gang has plainly shown to the whole world in whose interests and at whose orders the Trotskyist degenerates are working and whom they serve. The role of the Trotskyists in Spain is merely new confirmation of what was disclosed at the Moscow trial. And really, what would fascist agents do in Spain at the present moment of tense struggle by the masses of the people against fascism?

They would try to introduce dissension among the organizations of the People's Front. This is exactly what the Spanish Trotskyists are doing. They are endeavoring to penetrate into the various organizations of the People's Front, so as to set them one against the other, and thus weaken the unity of the struggle of the Spanish people.

Fascist agents would try to break up the People's Front. This is exactly what the Spanish Trotskyists are doing, when they demand that the working class organizations break away from the republican parties of the People's Front.

Fascist agents would spread distrust in the government, so as to weaken the defenses and open the front to the enemy. This is what is being done by the Spanish Trotskyists. The very day after February 16, they led the line of struggle against the government resting on the support of the parties of the People's Front, thus helping the reaction to conceal its plans for revolt. On June 16, after Dolores had made her speech exposing the plan for the preparation for the fascist revolt, a Trotskyist, Maurin, took the floor. Did Maurin make an attack on the fascist conspirators? No, Maurin directed his fire entirely against the government, which the fascist plotters were seeking to overthrow. Now, when the people are exerting heroic efforts to repulse the fascist rebels, the Trotskyist provocateurs are attacking the government and its measures for organizing defense.

Fascist agents would try to demoralize the troops of the Spanish

revolution by attacks on the U.S.S.R., would try to discredit it in the eyes of the Spanish people. But this is just what the Trotskyist provocateurs are doing.

Fascist agents would sow the seeds of hatred for the Communists, who are bravely fulfilling their duty at the front and in the rear. And this is what is being done by the Trotskyist agents of fascism, who hate the U.S.S.R., but after it, hate the Communist Party and the Communists most of all.

Fascist agents would advance slogans and provoke movements of such a type that German fascism would be able to justify its intervention. The Trotskyists are doing this as well. "It is not true that our troops are fighting for the existence of a democratic republic" declares the Trotskyist paper *La Batalla* in Barcelona. And the German and Italian fascists, the British conservatives, give the utmost publicity to these statements, and try to prove that in Spain it is not a question of the struggle of democracy against fascism, but of the proletariat against bourgeois democracy.

Finally, fascist agents in Spain have orders to carry on terrorist activity in the districts occupied by the republican troops. The Trotskyists do this as well. They have used and still use the most disgusting means of terror against the Communists and revolutionary workers. During the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev gang of bandits in Moscow, the Trotskyists in Spain carried out a series of terrorist acts against Communists. When an air raid was in progress one night in Madrid, a gang of Trotskyists took advantage of the darkness to commit the cowardly assassination of a group of active members of the Party. While the People's Militia were conducting an heroic struggle near Sierra Guadarrama, a terrorist plot of fascist-Trotskyists was discovered, aimed at the murder of Jose Diaz, Dolores, Largo Caballero and Azana.

Such is the real countenance of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, which is trying to stab the Spanish revolution and the Spanish people in the back.

Difficulties in the domestic political situation have also arisen from the past vacillations of the Socialist Party on a number of extremely important questions of the organization of defense. The seriousness of the situation demands the maximum unity of all the forces of the People's Front. But in the struggle to achieve victory over fascism, the unity of the People's Front demands that the parties which compose it be solid and united. But divergencies of opinion take place among the leaders of the Socialist Party on questions that are by no means important or questions of principle at the present stage of the revolution.

At a time when Socialist workers are displaying tremendous military prowess, not everyone in the ranks of the Socialist Party possesses a sufficient sense of responsibility in face of the serious situation. Certain groups of Socialists do not understand that everything at present must be subordinated to the interests of the front, that the policy and activity of all the parties and organizations of the People's Front must be subordinated to the one task of organizing victory over fascism. Ex

cessive optimism, which arises from an underestimation of the strength of the enemy, the absence of a sober appreciation of difficulties of an international character, self-assurance leading to the adoption of defensive instead of offensive tactics, the substitution of the propaganda of the heroism connected with the struggle instead of organizing it—all these shortcomings were still possessed by certain Spanish Socialist leaders until very lately.

Estimates of the character of the revolution are current in the Socialist Party and in its press such as are incompatible with a correct Marxist calculation of the forces concerned, and which rather reflect the influence of Anarchism.

Finally, right until very recently, some elements in the Socialist Party have wavered on the most important question arising at the present stage, that of the building up of the armed forces of the republic. As early as August 20, the Giral government issued a decree to form a republican voluntary army with a minimum term of service of six months. The Anarchists were up in arms against this measure. And there were people to be found in the Socialist Party who did not understand the significance of a regular army, and who opposed its formation.

And, at the same time, every new day brings reports from the front that side by side with the exhibition of heroism on a mass scale by the militia, there are ever more frequent cases of indiscipline on the part of the Anarchist elements, and that the losses suffered by the People's Militia are often so great because the men do not act in unison, do not possess the requisite endurance, and are without a strong commanding staff, etc.

Such are the difficulties of an inner political character. Nor should it be forgotten that there are food difficulties which a center like Madrid is beginning to experience and which demand immediate measures.

In this complex situation, the young Communist Party of Spain is soberly estimating the position in the country, marking out the correct line for its policy, and carrying out a definite and consistent line on the question of the defense of the republic. From the first day of the fascist revolt, the Party threw all its best forces to the front for the struggle to save the country and the republic. On July 18 the Communists were everywhere in the front ranks of the workers who attacked the La Montana barracks in Madrid. "The rebels must be destroyed" was the slogan of the *Mundo Obrero* during these days, and it still remains so today. The Communist Party secured the arming of the workers. The Communists are the best organizers of the Workers' Militia and the People's Militia. Thousands of Communists are fighting at the fronts of the civil war. The Communist 5th Regiment is the best detachment of the revolutionary army. The Communist Party supported the governments of Quiroga and Giral. Communists entered the Caballero government and advanced only one condition on giving their support to the changing governments: "Do everything to organize the military defeat of fascism."

What is the essence of the political line of the Communist Party at the present stage of the revolution?

The Communist Party takes as its point of departure the fact that a democratic revolution of the people is taking place in the country, its task at the present stage being to crush the fascist revolt, to save the republic.

The slogan of the defense of the democratic republic makes it possible to bring the widest masses of the people—workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, etc.—into the struggle against fascism. This slogan creates a very wide basis for the struggle to solve all the tasks of the democratic revolution. At the same time, the slogan of the defense of the democratic republic assists the formation of a wide democratic front around the struggle of the Spanish people throughout the world. The struggle of the masses of the people in Spain for the republic is meeting with the sympathy of tremendous sections of the population in all the capitalist countries. Not only the workers and working people generally, but considerable groups of honest republicans and democrats and of other strata are raising their voices in defense of the lawful democratic government of Spain, in defense of the Spanish people. The Party understands that this growing wave of sympathy for the Spanish people is a strong weapon, which the workers' organizations of all countries must use in order to prevent German, Italian and Portuguese fascism from doing their foul work, and to impel the governments of Great Britain and France to put an end to the blockade of a people fighting for independence and freedom. Therefore the Party is against all irresponsible statements, against frivolous chatter as to projects for the future "reorganization of society", which in the present international situation can only serve to complicate the struggle of the Spanish people against those who wish to enslave them.

The Party clearly realizes that the democratic republic for which the Spanish people are fighting will not be like a bourgeois-democratic republic of the usual type (U.S.A., France). Its social content is different. It is a republic in which fascism, the chief enemy of the people, of democracy and freedom, will have no place. Fascism, which in such countries as Germany and Italy has destroyed the freedom of the people, will not have such freedom in the Spanish democratic republic as, for instance, in France, Great Britain or the U.S.A. It will be a democratic republic for the masses of the people, a republic which will not allow democracy and the rights it gives to be used for the destruction of democracy and the establishment of slavery for the people. The material basis of fascism will be broken in this republic. A considerable number of undertakings (the property of persons helping the rebels or who have deserted their factories, and also enterprises of importance as regards defense) are now already in the hands of the people. About 18,000 enterprises on the territory of the republic have passed into the hands of the state and the workers' organizations. The estates of the landlords and the princes of the church who are participating in the fascist revolt have been confiscated and given over to peasants with little land. The

republic in Spain is treating the enemies of the people and their property in the same way as the revolutionary people of France (in 1793) treated the insurgents, the monarchist emigres of Coblenz.

But in order to bring about the establishment of such a democratic republic, the fascist revolt must be crushed. But at the present stage of the fascist revolt, it cannot be crushed unless a disciplined people's army with a single command is established, unless a strong government is organized, unless the fascist elements are cleared out of the state apparatus, and unless strict revolutionary order is introduced at the front and in the rear. Day in and day out, the Party is calling on the masses to solve the central task of the day, namely, the raising of discipline. The basic slogan launched by the Party is: "Firm government, strong army command, and iron discipline."

The Communist Party does not limit itself to agitation for discipline. It shows the people a brilliant example of organization, discipline, and order. The Communist fighters are the most disciplined fighters. Exemplary order reigns in the Communist detachments. The Communist soldiers hand over all property confiscated from the enemy to the state. It is well known that many tens of millions of pesetas confiscated from a number of rebels at the time of their arrest were handed to the government by members of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is the mainstay of strict revolutionary order in the rear. It is fighting for the reorganization of industry to serve the needs of the defense of the republic. In the factories, the Communists are fighting for the organization of production, for labor discipline, for improved quality of output, against all petty-bourgeois laxness, graft, self seeking, and against any frittering away of the property of the people.

The Communist Party is fighting to solve the agrarian problem in favor of the peasants and agricultural workers.

The Communist Party is fighting for the liquidation of the economic and political power of the church. But this is not in the least to affect the right to hold any creed, and respect for religious convictions of one kind or another. The republic is not closing the churches and does not persecute priests. It carries on a struggle against those members of the church who are taking part in the revolt. It is closing those churches which have been turned by the rebels into storehouses for arms, and strongholds of the counter-revolutionary revolt.

The Communist Party is fighting for extensive national autonomy for Catalonia, the Basque Provinces, and Valencia.

And finally, the Communist Party is fighting for peace among peoples.

Such is the line of the Communist Party of Spain. Such are its deeds. This line is being carried out, and these deeds are being done at the front and in the rear by the best of the working class of Spain, the Communists, who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their Socialist and Anarchist class brothers. From out of the ranks of the Communist Party, the working class, and the people are coming forward outstanding fighters, people of the new Spain.

* * *

During these days and weeks, when the Spanish people are fighting bravely for their liberty, all working people are faced with the question: how can we help our Spanish brothers so as to ensure their victory? All workers, all working people, all honest democrats are asking themselves the question: what basis in international law is there for the governments of Great Britain and France blockading the lawful government of Spain, while the German and Italian governments which have signed the non-intervention agreement continue to supply the rebels with arms? Was such a blockade employed against fascist Italy when it attacked Ethiopia? Has the blockade been employed against Germany, which is systematically violating its international obligations? Why do Great Britain and France not employ the blockade against Germany, Italy and Portugal, in spite of the fact that the governments of these countries have violated and continue to violate the pact of non-intervention in Spanish affairs? Is it not open encouragement to the aggressors when the capitalist countries keep silent about the speech of the Spanish Foreign Minister, Del Vayo, made at the plenary session of the League of Nations in Geneva? Why do the British conservatives, who have declaimed so much about the need for respecting parliamentarism, universal suffrage, the will of the parliamentary majority, and the laws voted by this majority, avert their faces when the rebel generals trample the constitution, the law, and universal suffrage under their bloody jackboots?

The governments of Great Britain and France proposed a pact on non-intervention in Spanish affairs to all countries, including the U.S.S.R.

What would the honest fulfilment of the non-intervention pact have meant in practice? The honest fulfilment of the pact would have made it possible for the republican government of Spain to liquidate the revolt, which has no mass basis in the country, in the shortest possible time. The honest fulfilment of the pact would have meant not only the liquidation of the fascist revolt in Spain but also the liquidation, in the embryo, of the new center of war (for Germany and Italy are seeking to secure the victory of the rebels with a view to seizing positions on the chief communication lines of France and Great Britain—positions which they require in order to carry out their expansionist plans). The honest fulfilment of the pact would have demonstrated not only that very wide masses of working people throughout the world do not desire war, but would have shown the fascists that the defenders of democracy and peace have effective means in their hands for carrying on the struggle against all who want to unleash war.

But, in the course of events, the pact has become a fiction. The German and Italian fascists continue to afford help to the rebels. while France and Great Britain do not "notice" the violation of the pact by Germany, Italy and Portugal. The conduct of German and Italian fascism in Spanish affairs, while Great Britain and France remain passive, is nothing but provocation directed not only against Spain but against the Soviet Union.

German fascism is waiting for any excuse, however small, to set

loose the forces of war, and to organize a crusade against the U.S.S.R. The Nuremberg Congress of the fascist party had as its keynote the struggle against the forces of democracy, and first and foremost against the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of democracy and peace among the peoples. German fascism is seeking for allies for a "drive against Bolshevism". In such a situation, could the Soviet government refuse to participate in the non-intervention agreement? No, for France, with which the Soviet Union is connected by a mutual assistance pact, insisted on it. "The Soviet government associated itself with the declaration of non-intervention in Spanish affairs" stated Comrade Litvinov at the League of Nations, "only because a friendly country feared an international conflict if this were not done." Had the U.S.S.R. refused to participate in the agreement, this would have united the capitalist countries against the U.S.S.R., would have led to direct intervention in Spanish affairs by the fascist countries, under the hypocritical pretense that the U.S.S.R. was inflaming civil war and implanting Bolshevism in Spain. Under the cover of slander and calumny against the Soviet Union, German and Italian fascism would have proceeded to open intervention in Spain, to the landing of troops, to the plundering and dismemberment of the country. Had the U.S.S.R. refused to participate in the non-intervention agreement, this would have fitted in with the fascist war plans.

The international working class understands the complexity of this situation and the foul game of those who are provoking intervention and war. They know that the key to the alteration of the position in respect to the lawful Spanish government lies in London and Paris.

This is why very wide masses of the workers throughout the world, and their Communist Parties, are raising the question of a change in the position of Great Britain and France on the question of non-intervention. They know that the decision of this question depends on the position taken up by these countries, that the Soviet Union only signed the non-intervention pact under the pressure of the above-mentioned circumstances. The Soviet Union has no intention of tolerating the conversion of the non-intervention pact into a virtual blockade of the Spanish people engaged in the fight against the fascist rebels, who are being supplied, in spite of the pact, with military supplies sent to them by foreign fascist governments. On October 7 the Soviet government officially declared to the committee dealing with questions of the application of the non-intervention pact:

> "The Soviet Government can under no circumstances agree to the conversion of the non-intervention pact into a screen covering up the military aid being rendered to the rebels by certain of those participating in the agreement, against the lawful Spanish government. The Soviet Government is compelled, in view of this, to declare that if the violation of the non-intervention agreement is not stopped forthwith, it will consider itself free from the obligations arising from the agreement."

A struggle is now developing throughout the world against the

blockade of republican Spain. On September 5, 150,000 proletarians in Paris demonstrated their solidarity with the Spanish people. The demonstration took place under the slogan: "Down with the blockade of Republican Spain!" Three hundred thousand workers employed in the aviation, engineering and automobile industries of the Paris district declared a one-hour general strike, demanding the repeal of the "policy of blockading the republican government of Spain". And a movement has started in Great Britain directed towards changing the policy of the government.

Working people are not only demanding from their governments that the blockade of republican Spain be withdrawn, but they are organizing extensive material aid for the fighters for liberty. Throughout the world, money is being collected for our Spanish brothers. Money, food, medical supplies, and Red Cross detachments are being sent to Spain.

All the more criminal in these conditions is the step taken by the Right leaders of the Second International, who took advantage of the trial of the counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Zinoviev gang to disrupt the united front of aid for the Spanish people. This step only plays into the hands of fascism. By helping the rebels in Spain German fascism is also calculating on scaring the working people of other countries, and on showing them that the victory of the People's Front will inevitably lead to civil war. In this way, the fascists want to disrupt the People's Front that is gathering strength all over the world. The reactionary leaders of the Second International have stretched out a hand to the fascists.

In spite of all the laborious efforts of the leaders of the Second International to disrupt the united front of aid for the Spanish people, the working people throughout the world will strengthen it further. The toilers of the Land of the Soviets are giving and will continue to give extensive moral and material support to their Spanish brothers. The proletarians of all capitalist countries, and all honest democrats, will actively support the Spanish people. They feel that the forces of democracy and international fascism have now clashed on the territory of Spain, that in this struggle the fate is being decided not only of the Spanish people but also of the masses of the people throughout the world.

All honest supporters of democracy, peace and progress must rally together to smash the criminal endeavors of the fascists—the enemies of popular liberty, and the incendiaries of a new world war.

The Lessons of the Trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev Terrorist Center

By M. ERCOLI

THE lessons to be learned from the Moscow trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist gang are numerous, important, and profound. They do not concern only the Communist Parties, which are called upon by the facts revealed at the trial to observe greater vigilance in order to prevent enemy agents penetrating into the ranks of the Party of the working class. They concern the whole working class, the whole international working class movement.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF THE TRIAL OF THE TROTSKY-ZINOVIEV GANG OF TERRORISTS

Comrade Dimitroff clearly outlined the international importance of the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist gang, when he stated:

> "The trial of the terrorists, who are agents of fascism, is an integral part of the struggle of the international working class against fascism."

The correctness of this statement is borne out by the facts which were proved in open court concerning the activity of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists. The correctness of Comrade Dimitroff's statement is confirmed by an examination of the activities being developed by the Trotskyist sects outside the Soviet Union, and which aim at bringing disruption into the ranks of the working class organizations in the interests of the class enemy, of fascism.

It was in 1931, on the initiative of Trotsky and on the basis of his instructions from abroad, which moreover coincided with the conclusions also arrived at in the Soviet Union by the bankrupt degenerates of the Zinoviev breed, it was in 1931 that the pitiful remnants of the different counter-revolutionary groups, defeated by the Party and the working class, and shattered by the irrevocable victories achieved by the policy of the Bolshevik Party and its Leninist Central Committee, led by Comrade Stalin, entered on the path of violent struggle against the Soviet state and the Communist Party, the path of organizing terrorist acts against the leaders of the Socialist state, the Communist Party, and its Central Committee. It was in 1932 that the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center was formed and proceeded to carry out in practice the instructions of Trotsky.

In the capitalist world these were years of fascist offensive against the working class and against democracy in Germany, Spain, Austria, and France. These were years in which the war danger became more and

more acute. They were also years in which the forces of the working class and the people began to rally together and unite to drive back the fascist offensive, and in which the struggle between the forces of reaction and the forces of democracy and revolution, between the war parties and the defenders of peace, became more and more acute. The foul assassination of Sergei Mironovich Kirov, the ardent revolutionary tribune, followed a few weeks after the heroic armed struggle of the Spanish proletariat to bar the way to fascism.

Discovered and unmasked in their criminal activities, the Trotsky-Zinoviev bandits answered for their crimes before the supreme court of the working class at a time when the fascist offensive was entering on a new phase. In Spain the fascist generals, the tools of the feudal and capitalist reactionary cliques, of the bankers and millionaire archbishops, supported by international fascism, raised the flag of revolt against the legitimate democratic government, which was freely elected by the people. In France, after being forced by the success of the united front and the People's Front to make a partial retreat, the forces of fascism were reorganizing and preparing in their dark dens new attacks against democratic republican institutions. In the center of Europe, German National-Socialism was arrogantly developing its policy of war provocation. Encouraged by the wavering of the bourgeois-democratic states interested in the preservation of peace, it threatened the liberties and national independence of the Czech, the Austrian, the French, Belgian, and Polish peoples. Unity and implacable resoluteness in the struggle against fascism were more than ever necessary, were the imperious demand of the hour.

It was at this moment that the Trotsky-Zinoviev bandits plotted their sacrilegious crimes against the socialist fatherland, it was at this moment that they dared to raise their cowardly hands against the Bolshevik Party, against its beloved leaders, against Stalin, who with his sure hand has been guiding the people of the U.S.S.R. to surmount the difficulties connected with the building up of socialism, who has marked out the way which is to lead the working class of the whole world to victory, the leader whose presence at the head of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International inspires millions in their struggle. In whose interests can the terrorist bands be acting if not in the interests of the mortal enemies of the working class and the working people in general, the interests of fascism?

We know the great role being played by the irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, in rallying the forces of the working class, the forces of democracy and peace for the struggle against fascism.

> "The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union", said Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, "—a victory of world-historic significance—gives rise in all capitalist countries to a powerful movement toward socialism. This victory strengthens the cause of peace among peoples, enhancing as it does the international importance of the Soviet Union and its role as the mighty bulwark of the toilers in their struggle against capital, against reaction and

fascism. It strengthens the Soviet Union as the base of the world proletarian revolution. It sets in motion throughout the whole world not only the workers, who are turning more and more to Communism, but also millions of peasants and farmers, of the hard-working petty townsfolk, a considerable proportion of the intellectuals, the enslaved peoples of the colonies. It inspires them to struggle, increases their attachment for the great fatherland of all the toilers, strengthens their determination to support and defend the proletarian state against all its enemies.

"This victory of socialism increases the confidence of the international proletariat in its own forces and in the tangible possibility of its own victory, a confidence which is itself becoming a tremendously effective force against the rule of the bourgeoisie."

The triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union fills the reactionary bourgeoisie with fear and hatred. This triumph of the political line of the Bolshevik Party inspires the bankrupt Zinovievists and Trotskyists with impotent rage. The terrorist blow which these bandits are trying to strike at the land of socialism is an integral part of the offensive which fascism is leading against the Soviet Union. But in the attack on the Soviet Union, it is all the forces of progress, democracy, and peace which are being attacked.

It is precisely because the Soviet Union is the land of the most consistent democracy, because it is the land of the unity of the working class, because it is the land where class privileges have been destroyed, because by its example it stimulates the workers of the whole world to close their ranks in defense of their liberty and bread—for all these reasons the extreme parties of reaction and war are concentrating against the Soviet Union the furious attacks of their press and their propaganda bureaus, are making frantic efforts to destroy its increasing authority, resorting, in this connection, to the darkest and most cowardly means. The terrorist bands unmasked due to the vigilance of the organs of the proletarian state and wiped out by proletarian justice were none other than weapons of the desperate offensive of the fascists against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union must at all costs be discredited, isolated, defeated, destroyed, in order that fascism may triumph the whole world over—such is the program of the fascists. But what was the program of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist bandits?

No definite political program was drawn up when the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center was established. There was not and could not be a stated program with people whose essential principle of action was hypocrisy and falsehood, but the center had a method of struggle and a perspective which actually amounted to a program. The method of struggle was one of the most dastardly and abominable acts of terrorism against the leaders of the Party and the state. The perspective was the defeat of the Soviet Union in a war unleashed against it by the fascist aggressors. If we add this method of struggle to this perspective, the result is a program of the restoration of capitalism.

This program of the restoration of capitalism is the logical consequence of all the theses and platforms which have been defended by the Trotskyists and Zinovievists at the different stages of their shameful evolution, from an opposition within the Party and against the Party, down to the final stage when they stood in the vanguard of counter-revolution and fascism. This is the program that men who denied the possibility of building a socialist society in the Soviet Union were finally to arrive at. They were men who, in their struggle against the Party, banked on the failure of the Leninist policy of the Party, on the failure of the plans for building socialism, men who organized against the power of the Soviets, street demonstrations, illegal printshops, illegal work to disorganize the state apparatus, and especially socialist economy, men who in their struggle against the proletarian power appealed to the remnants of the capitalist classes who were defeated and destroyed by the working class, men who became the contemptible dregs of humanity ready to fulfil the basest, dirtiest and foulest deeds of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Is there a worker, is there an honest toiler, is there a sincere friend of liberty and peace who does not realize what it would mean to him and to the whole of humanity were the criminal plans of Trotsky and the other bandits acting on his instructions to succeed? It would mean the restoration of capitalism in Russia! It would mean the realization of the dark and loathsome dream of world reaction, of Hitler and the Jesuits, of the bloodthirsty fascist executioners, of the capitalists and the bankers, who are ready to hurl the world into the abyss of a new slaughter in the attempt to save their privileges.

Those who have unmasked and wiped out the terrorist bandits have done a service to the whole of humanity. The Moscow trial and the sentences passed there have been a blow struck at fascism, at the warmongers, at the enemies of the freedom and peace of the peoples, at a time when it is most necessary.

The Moscow trial was an *act* of defense of democracy and peace, of socialism and the revolution.

It is in this that its international importance lies.

II. THE REACTIONARY LEADERS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY TO THE AID OF THE TROTSKY-ZINOVIEV BANDITS

But there are people who dared to raise their voice in defense of the terrorist bandits, who demanded that they should be granted "legal guarantees", who intervened to prevent the infliction of the penalty they deserved and that the whole people were demanding.

It was the leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and the Trade Union International, from Schevenels to Otto Bauer, from Citrine to de Brouckère, the Social-Democrats of Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries, etc.—it was these who took on themselves this dishonorable task, joining their voices to that of the reactionary and fascist press in every country.

"Legal guarantees"! There is but one court in the world of which

the composition, the law which it applies, and the procedure which it follows, offer a complete guarantee of justice not only in appearance but in substance. That court is the Soviet, proletarian court, the creation of the revolution which rooted out all injustices and special privileges.

The leaders of Social-Democracy have publicly expressed their surprise and indignation because the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists have been ruthlessly exterminated by proletarian justice. They tried in this way to sow confusion in the ranks of the working class. But their attempt failed. The proletarians and working people generally who are still living under the yoke of capitalism understood the meaning and the aim of the mock indignation of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy. They realized that it was only a means of seeking to discredit the proletarian government, of weakening the bonds which link the workers in capitalist countries to the country where the proletarian revolution has triumphed.

The workers of the capitalist countries realize the exigencies which are imposed by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the destruction of the class privileges of the bourgeoisie, for the complete elimination of classes, for the building of a classless society. They realize that the resistance of the defeated and exterminated privileged classes revives, and takes particularly desperate forms, at the precise moment when the victories of the working class and socialism make their definite disappearance inevitable.

> "We must bear in mind that the growth of the power of the Soviet state will increase the resistance of the last remnants of the dying classes. It is precisely because they are dying and living their last days that they will pass from one form of attack to another, to sharper forms of attack, appeal to the backward strata of the population and mobilize them against the Soviet Union. There is no mischief and slander that these 'have beens' will not commit against the Soviet government and around which they will not try to mobilize the backward elements. This may give ground for the revival of the activities of the defeated groups of the old counter-revolutionary parties: the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and the bourgeois nationalists in the center and in the outlying regions; it may give grounds also for the revival of the activities of the fragments of counter-revolutionary opposition elements, the Trotskyists and Right deviationists. Of course, there is nothing terrible in this. But we must bear all this in mind if we want to put an end to these elements quickly, and without great loss.."*

What Stalin foresaw in 1933 exactly came to pass in the subsequent years. The remnants of the counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Zinoviev groups launched a desperate struggle against the Soviet state, not only basing their support on the remnants of the privileged classes, but in direct contact with international reaction, with the fascists, at a time when fascism was intensifying its fierce attack against the working class throughout the whole world.

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* J. Stalin, *The Results of the First Five-Year Plan*, at the joint plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., January, 1933, pp. 57-58.

The reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy assume the role of prosecuting counsel in demanding that the working class of the U.S.S.R. justify its actions. Do they not want a justification of the fact that the working class of the Soviet Union has the state power firmly in its hands and uses it to exterminate the agents of capitalist reaction, the agents of fascism? The best sons of the working class, the fighters for liberty and peace, are, throughout practically the whole of capitalist Europe, Asia, and America, persecuted, hunted down, imprisoned, and executed. There is, however, a country where the working class is able to wield the sword of proletarian justice against the fascists; must we be distressed by this fact? Are we to be uneasy because of the vigilance, the implacability with which the organs of the proletarian state wage the struggle against our enemies? Not only has the vanguard of the working class no need to justify itself before the Social-Democratic leaders who attack it for the action of the proletarian power in the Soviet Union, but, on the contrary, it is before that vanguard that the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy ought to answer, for they, in taking up the defense of the Trotskyist bandits, have in effect taken up their stand with fascism and rendered it assistance.

If there was anybody in our ranks who was surprised at the utilization of the Moscow trial by the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, this meant that he did not properly grasp the problem of our relations with Social-Democracy, and the role which these leaders play in the struggle of the working class against fascism. It will not do to have too simple, too idyllic a conception of these relations. It is an indubitable fact that in the critical moments when the class struggle—the struggle of the proletariat and the great toiling masses against the reactionary bourgeoisie—becomes more intensified, the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy will make every effort to sow discord in the ranks of the working class.

The position taken up by the reactionary leaders of international Social-Democracy with regard to the Moscow trial can only be explained in relation to the whole international situation, and particularly to the development of the United Front and People's Front policy of the Communist International. The reactionary leaders of the Second International have always been opposed to the United Front and the People's Front, because they fear that if unity of action were achieved it would destroy the influence they still have over a section of the working class. After the Seventh Congress of the Communist International they had hopes that it would be sufficient for them systematically to reject all our proposals for unity of action on the international front in order to prevent us from carrying out the historic task of rallying the forces of the proletariat and the popular masses in the struggle against fascism. Others consoled themselves by the belief that the tasks we put before ourselves at the Seventh Congress corresponded only to a purely "temporary turn". Both were grievously mistaken. The achievement of the United Front and the People's Front is an historic task of the working class in the present period. The vanguard of the working class

has realized this, and concentrated its efforts in order to succeed in accomplishing this task. On the other hand, our United Front and People's Front policy has already had splendid success not only in Spain and in France, but also in other countries, notwithstanding the resistance of the reactionary section of the Social-Democratic Parties. But the events in Spain and France also show that the rallying of the forces of the working class and of the people for the struggle against fascism cannot fail to bring about at certain moments a sharpening of the class struggle. The most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie, which were forced to retreat by the unity of the working class and the popular masses, are rallying their forces and preparing a desperate offensive against the democratic regime being defended by the working class. This leads at certain periods to armed class conflicts like those we see taking place in Spain at the present time, and as we had in France during the tremendous strikes which followed the victory of the People's Front at the polls.

The Communist Party, which is the most consistent fighter for unity, and which displays initiative and clarity in putting forward the tasks confronting the working class at the present time, naturally finds itself at the head of these struggles, in the course of which its influence naturally presents itself more and more. It is here that we must seek the roots of the campaign launched by the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy in connection with the Moscow trial. This campaign is directed against the United Front, it is a campaign against the People's Front.

Had there been no Moscow trial, the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy would have sought and found some other pretext for launching their campaign. The attacks of Social-Democracy were directed in the first place against the Soviet Union because the growing authority of the Soviet Union, of its socialist construction and its foreign policy, is one of the pillars on which rest the successes of the policy of the United Front and People's Front.

But every attack which is designed to impede and make more difficult the achievement of working class unity and the rallying of the popular masses against fascism does service only to fascism. The struggle between us and reactionary Social-Democracy on the subject of the Moscow trial is an integral part of the struggle being waged by the vanguard of the working class against fascism.

The offensive of Social-Democracy was launched concertedly in August after the meeting which took place in Paris between the leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The same slogans appeared simultaneously throughout the whole Social-Democratic press, and the real aim of the campaign was clearly to be seen from the beginning. That aim consisted not in rousing public opinion in favor of the wretched terrorist bandits—such a movement is not possible—but once more to deepen the split in the ranks of the working class. From the very first the Social-Democratic press openly declared that the point at issue was the United Front, was the link be-

tween the Socialist and the Communist Parties which had been brough about in France and in Spain for the struggle against fascism. Th attack was openly directed against the ever-growing tendency towards that rapprochement between Communist and Socialist workers which i taking place in Czechoslovakia, Belgium, England, Switzerland and othe countries.

Take Czechoslovakia, for example. After the first few days the Czech Social-Democratic press no longer spoke of the Moscow trial— the offensive was carried out against the United Front in Czechoslovakia itself, in order to destroy the results obtained.

The reactionaries in the Swiss Social-Democratic Party acted even more openly. At the Zurich Congress of the Social-Democratic Party a resolution was passed by 133 votes to 52 in which the Social-Democratic Party stated that after the Moscow trial it could not continue the community of action with the Communist Party already established!

Whereas in France and Spain the great majority of the Socialist workers would not allow their leaders to break the United Front, in those countries, however, where little progress has as yet been made in the achievement of unity of action against fascism, the Social-Democratic campaign met with deplorable success. But these are the very countries in which the working class is in a perilous position in face of the attacks of fascism. These are the very countries in which unity is as essential to the working class as food, air, and sunlight.

Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Switzerland, and Holland are among those countries whose national independence is directly threatened by the war plans of German National-Socialism. The German fascists, who are carrying through armed intervention in Spain in support of the revolt of the fascist generals, have included in their plan the organization of similar intervention in Czechoslovakia or Belgium. It is a matter of the greatest urgency that the unity of the working class should be achieved in order to cope with this danger. Working class unity in Czechoslovakia is the first of the conditions which must be carried out if the independence of the Czechoslovakian republic is to be victoriously defended against a fascist attack. Working class unity in Belgium is an indispensable condition if Belgium is to be kept from drifting towards a fascist regime which would open the door to foreign intervention, and destroy the liberties and organizations of the Belgian working class.

In Switzerland it is the ruling strata of the bourgeoisie who are threatening the liberties of the people, and who have already succeeded in shaking them, while the proletariat and the people are delaying in uniting to defend them.

Why and in whose interests in the present situation are the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders launching a rabid attack against the United Front? Ought not the energetic measures taken by the organs of the Soviet power to destroy the terrorist bandits, the agents of fascism, ought not the unanimity with which the masses of the people of the Soviet Union supported this action—ought not these rather

given as an example to the working class and the peoples of all countries which are threatened by fascism?

The hopes of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy have proved illusory. The leaders have not succeeded in provoking us, in holding back our struggle for the United Front and the People's Front. This is what our Communist Parties have all realized.

We set the example of our Spanish comrades before all the Sections of the Communist International. Absorbed in the direct armed struggle to crush the revolt of the fascist generals against the democratic republic, our Spanish comrades in the course of this struggle have sharpened their class vigilance. That is why, on receiving the first news of the trial of the terrorist bandits, they understood that the accused on trial before the proletarian court in Moscow, for having resorted to violence against the Republic of the Soviets, belong to the same camp as the fascist bandits who have resorted to arms against the democratic republic of Spain. That is why they were able from the very beginning to link the sentence passed on the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists, who had operated in the Soviet Union, with the struggle against the Trotskyist elements in Spain, who, as in every other country, are acting as the direct agents of fascism. The documents published by our Spanish comrades, proving that the Trotskyist and fascist elements in Spain were in close touch with each other, the proofs furnished of the provocative activities developed by the Spanish Trotskyists with the object of smashing the United Front and the People's Front—these proofs constitute most valuable material completely confirming the conclusions arrived at by the organs defending the security of the state in the Soviet Union. This material must be widely used in every country once and for all to unmask the remnants of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist sect.

It is only by a vigorous attack of this kind that the offensive in support of the foul Trotskyist terrorists can be smashed, that the United Front and the People's Front can be saved from the attack made by the counter-revolutionary leaders of Social-Democracy. A determined attitude of this kind is necessary in order to present the lessons of the Moscow trial in all their fullness to the working class and the great masses of working people generally.

III. TROTSKYISM IS AN AGENCY OF FASCISM IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS

"I refuse to believe that Trotsky is a direct accomplice of Hitler," said de Brouckère, Chairman of the Labor and Socialist International. And Otto Bauer, who is always ready in decisive questions and at decisive moments to take a stand, while using Left phrases, with the reactionary wing of Social-Democracy, demands "proofs".

Proofs! But all the proofs that the most scrupulous of judges could demand were provided in court. At the public sessions of the Supreme Court, the leaders of the terrorist gang themselves had no alternative but to admit their crimes, while their connections with fascism were proved not only by the fact that they had a common program and com-

mon aims—namely, the assassination of the heads of the proletarian government, the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the defeat of the Soviet Union in war and the restoration of the capitalist regime—but also by the fact that direct and practical assistance was given by the Gestapo to the sinister agents of Trotsky in order that they might be able to get into the Soviet Union and prepare and carry out their criminal designs. Who can doubt these facts, confirmed as they were by evidence which, as long as justice and judges have existed, have always been regarded as decisive and irrefutable—the confession of the accused?

But do you want more proofs? Look around you, observe, analyze the activities of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist sect in all countries, and you cannot but be convinced that this sect is nothing other than an ancillary, an agency of fascism in the ranks of the working class.

> ". . . Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, which is carrying on the struggle against Communism, against the Soviet government, against the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R.
>
> "Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie its intellectual weapon against Bolshevism, in the form of the thesis of the impossibility of building socialism in our country, in the form of the thesis of the inevitability of the degeneration of the Bolsheviks, etc.? That weapon was given it by Trotskyism. It is not an accident that all anti-Soviet groupings in the U.S.S.R. in their attempts to give grounds for their argument of the inevitability of the struggle against the Soviet government referred to the well-known thesis of Trotskyism of the impossibility of building socialism in our country, of the inevitable degeneration of the Soviet government, of the probable return to capitalism.
>
> "Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. its tactical weapon in the form of attempts at open attacks on the Soviet government? This weapon was given to it by the Trotskyists, who tried to organize anti-Soviet demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad on November 7, 1927. It is a fact that the anti-Soviet actions of the Trotskyists raised the spirits of the bourgeoisie and let loose the work of counter-revolutionary sabotage of the bourgeois specialists.
>
> "Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an organizational weapon in the form of attempts at organizing underground anti-Soviet organizations? This weapon was given to it by the Trotskyists who founded their own anti-Bolshevik illegal group. It is a fact that the underground anti-Soviet work of the Trotskyists facilitated the organized formation of the anti-Soviet groups within the U.S.S.R.
>
> "Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.
>
> "That is why liberalism towards Trotskyism, even when the latter is shattered and concealed, is stupidity bordering on crime, bordering on treason to the working class."*

* Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, pp. 403-404.

These words which were written by Comrade Stalin in 1931 do not merely constitute guiding lines for the Communists. They contain a stern warning to all sections of the working class movement. Had this historic warning been universally understood, had it been acted on in full in good time, the task of purging the ranks of the working class of the agents of the enemy would have been facilitated to an enormous degree. All the activities being developed by Trotskyism go to verify the profound value of the definition given by Stalin in 1931.

The great aims, the historic objectives that confront the working class at the present time are twofold. The first is the struggle against fascism by the consistent defense of all the gains won by the proletariat and the masses of the people and, first and foremost, by the defense of the democratic liberties that the fascists wish to destroy in order to set up their bloody dictatorship. The second is the struggle for the preservation of peace. It was on these two objectives that the Seventh Congress of the Communist International concentrated the attention of the whole world, denouncing fascism as the mortal enemy of the industrial workers and working people generally, as the enemy of progress and human civilization, the instigator of a new world war, and showing that the establishment of working class unity, of the People's Front of all anti-fascist forces, and of a broader front of all the friends of peace is the way by which it is possible to bar the road to fascism and to defeat it.

In the struggle against fascism and for peace, the closest unity is being established between the proletariat and wide masses of working people generally in the capitalist countries, and the peoples of the Soviet Union whose every advance on the socialist path strikes at the heart of fascism and strengthens the cause of peace. Millions and millions of working people are becoming imbued more and more consciously with the need for unity in the struggle against fascism and for peace. This consciousness is rousing ever greater masses of people in every country and drawing them into the struggle against fascism. Herein lies the source of the victories won over fascism in France and Spain. Herein lies the profound source of this new wave of struggle which we are now witnessing, of the industrial workers and working people generally for their interests and their liberties against the most reactionary and chauvinist strata of the bourgeoisie.

But there are people who are trying to penetrate into the ranks of the working class and into its organizations, in order to break the anti-fascist front which is being hammered out in the struggle. These are the Trotskyists, whose chief concern today is to proclaim that there is no need to concentrate our fire against fascism, that in concentrating its fire against fascism the working class misses its role, abandons the struggle against capitalism, and takes the path of capitulation and betrayal. At the time when the experiences of Italy, Germany and Austria are convincing the great majority of working people of the need to refuse to allow the last remnants of democratic liberties to be destroyed by the most reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie, but to defend

them and make use of democratic institutions in order to arrest the menacing advance of fascism and develop the struggle of the masses, the Trotskyists preach that the defense of democratic liberties is a snare and an illusion, because "bourgeois democracy must inevitably become transformed into fascism".

At a time when fascism was intensifying its provocation of war more and more, when Italian fascism were unleashing war in Africa, and threatening to carry the conflict to Europe, when German National-Socialism, trampling under foot all its international obligations and reducing the German people to poverty and slavery by a mad policy of armaments and militarization of the country, brandished the torch of war in the center of Europe by threatening the national independence of the people living on its frontiers, at this moment the main concern of the Trotskyists was to prove that fascism does not play any special role in the preparation of war. "What brings about preparation for war," we read in one of the filthy rags which they publish in different countries, "is not the form of government. There are no differences between democratic nations and fascist nations from the war standpoint. The state form of the capitalist dictatorship is a secondary matter." Coming in a still more direct fashion to the help of the fascist instigators of war, the Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries concentrate their agitation against the "privileged and well-fed" democratic states (their very terminology is identical with that of the bellicose declarations of Hitler and Mussolini), and take up the defense of German National-Socialism, by declaring that it is only responsible for wanting to break the yoke of the treaty of Versailles. And this at a time when even the remnants of the treaty of Versailles no longer exist, and when fascism, in order to impose on the nations a new "treaty of Versailles" a hundred times more barbarous and detestable than that of 1919, is driving the whole of humanity into the inferno of a new world war.

The counter-revolutionary sect of Trotskyists directs its activities essentially in three directions. Above all, it tries by every means to break the link growing ever closer, uniting the proletariat of the Soviet Union to the working class and the masses of the people of the capitalist countries. Second, it makes every effort to prevent working class unity being brought about in the struggle against the fascist enemy and for the defense of peace. It tries everywhere to create divisions to disintegrate and destroy the forces of the working class. Third, it makes every effort to prevent great masses of people, the progressive and anti-fascist forces of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country from rallying around the working class, whereas this rallying is one of the decisive conditions for a victorious struggle against fascism.

The aims which the Trotskyists wish to achieve in these three directions are completely identical with the aims which the fascists are trying to achieve. To whose advantage is it today to discredit the Soviet Union, to whose advantage is it to split and disorganize the working class, to whose advantage is it to isolate the working class from its allies, if not to the advantage of the fascists?

It is hatred which inspires all the propaganda of the Trotskyist bandits about the Soviet Union, the same hatred which inspires and fills the anti-Soviet campaigns of the fascists. They employ the same slanders, the same counter-revolutionary slogans, they resort to the same abominable acts of provocation.

The fascists are above all interested in destroying the revolutionary influence which the great victories of socialism in the Soviet Union have on the minds of all the exploited and oppressed. It is the Trotskyists who come to their assistance, and try to enhance the prestige of fascism by shouting that "fascism is advancing more rapidly than socialist construction is in the U.S.S.R." The successes of socialist construction are no longer denied today by anyone. It is only in the Trotskyist press and in the propagandist speeches of the fascists that we find the statement that the progress of socialist construction is actually non-existent.

The Stakhanov movement, which is opening up to the working people in the U.S.S.R. new prospects of raising their standards of living, of making life prosperous and more joyous, has aroused admiration throughout the whole world. It is only in the fascist press that we find the ridiculous lie that the material conditions of the working people of the Soviet Union are getting worse and worse as a result of this movement. And the same thing may be read in the sheets of the Trotskyists.

The growing prestige of the land of socialism, which is pursuing a bold and consistent policy in defense of peace, is rousing uneasiness and fierce hatred among the fascists. And once again it is the Trotskyists who provide "the arguments" for discrediting the peace policy of the Soviet Union. The mutual assistance pacts concluded by the Soviet Union with certain states which are not at the moment interested in the outbreak of war are described by the Trotskyist hacks as "war alliances", which "force" German National-Socialism to increase its armaments in self-defense. It is the same brazen lie by the aid of which the butchers of the German people are trying to obstruct every attempt to consolidate peace and mask their policy of war provocation.

Not long ago the representatives of tens of millions of people met in Brussels to demonstrate their firm determination to struggle for peace against the criminal aggressors, and to organize the masses for this struggle. The war parade in Nuremberg proved that the worst aggressor, stigmatized by the Brussels congress, is none other than Hitler Germany. And here again the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists join their howls to the campaign of the fascists.

In what do the fascists see the greatest menace to their domination and to their plans? They see it in united action by the working class. It was when the working class was split that fascism was able to triumph. Every success of working class unity is a defeat for fascism. But here again the Trotskyist bandits come to their aid. The struggle for unity, write the Trotskyist sheets, is "a superstition", a "dangerous illusion", it is "sheer folly and a crime". As soon as the first successes were achieved in bringing about the United Front in France, the Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries set themselves the task of using every kind of provoca-

tion in order to disrupt the United Front—the United Front thanks to which the French proletariat drove back the fascist offensive of 1934-35, won its victory at the polls in 1936, and increased its forces tenfold in the amalgamated trade unions, and obtained great economic gains in June, 1936, by direct action.

In his "proclamations" Trotsky fulminates against every working class organization which dares to carry out a policy of unity. He orders the Independent Labor Party to break off relations with the Communists, and threatens it with bell, book, and candle because it acts otherwise. He declares the policy of working class unity to be a policy "dictated exclusively by the interests of Soviet diplomacy", and the Communist International to be "an instrument of Russian foreign policy". Thus it was that Trotsky provided Hitler and Goebbels with one of the slogans for the Nuremberg congress.

In what do the fascists see the greatest danger to their domination and their plans? In the fact that the working class, by bringing about unity in its ranks, wrests from their influence the mass of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country. Counter-revolutionary Trotskyism lends its aid to fascism by declaring that the People's Front is "a renunciation of the class struggle", is "collaboration with the imperialist bourgeoisie". In France the aim pursued by the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist sect is to smash the People's Front, and this today would mean strengthening the Right, and the first steps towards setting up a fascist dictatorship. Similarly, the People's Front in Spain, according to the Trotskyists, is a "betrayal". The policy advanced by the Trotskyists in Spain is that which Gil Robles, the fascist leader, tried to carry out before he passed to open insurrection against the republic: it consists in detaching the parties of the republican lower and middle class from the working class, and driving the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of reaction and fascism.

The reactionary Social-Democratic leaders ask us for proofs. Are not these proofs, furnished by the Trotskyists themselves by their daily counter-revolutionary agitation, sufficient? But that, say the defenders of the terrorist bandits, does not yet prove that the Trotskyists organize murderous attacks against the Soviet government and its leaders. No, gentlemen. All this counter-revolutionary policy has one single edge which is aimed at the heart and head of the world revolutionary movement, at Communism, at the U.S.S.R., at the Bolshevik Party and its leaders. Terrorist attacks are a component part of the counter-revolutionary practical activities of fascism and Trotskyism.

The only perspective on which Trotsky is counting at the present time is that of the defeat of the Soviet Union. As far back as 1926, Trotsky came forward with his famous "Clemenceau" thesis. Just as Clemenceau was called to power during the imperialist war, when France was threatened with defeat, so Trotsky is to arrive at his goal when the enemy is at the gates of Moscow.

A few months ago Trotsky, writing in the same strain, said: "The victory of the European coalition over Napoleon did not bring

about the destruction of capitalist development in France, but accelerated it in the rest of Europe."

We are here confronted with a modernized fascist version of the theory of "permanent revolution", according to which, even if the fascists attack the Soviet Union and succeed in defeating it, that will not impede but accelerate progress in "the rest of Europe". Do you need any further proofs, Messieurs Social-Democrats, that those whom the sword of proletarian justice has struck down were deadly enemies of the working class?

It is with the same shameless effrontery with which Trotsky admits that his aims are identical with those of the fascists in the question of war against the U.S.S.R., that he calls for terrorist acts. The slogan "Stalin must be put out of the way" was publicly launched in the Trotskyist press.

The defense of terrorism as a form of struggle against the Soviet government runs like a red thread through the writings of Trotsky; terrorism is justified as a "progressive factor".

But these proofs are not enough for the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy. There are people in existence who want to appeal against the verdict of the Supreme Court to some "commission" or other, on which the Trotskyists themselves would be invited to sit. Trotsky, the arch-assassin, declares that he is quite willing to be tried by a bourgeois court in Norway. If he wishes to add anything to what his accomplices and his followers have admitted, it is not to the judges of the King of Norway that he should address himself. Let him present himself to the Soviet Court. When Dimitroff was falsely accused at the Leipzig trial of having organized terrorist acts in his own country, Bulgaria, he immediately demanded, without the slightest hesitation, to be deported to Bulgaria as soon as the Leipzig trial was finished, in order to stand trial there, laying down as the sole condition that the trial be public.

The mere fact that Trotsky has not dared to appear before the only court which is competent and has the authority to judge the crimes committed by him is proof of his guilt.

IV. COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE TROTSKYIST BANDITS

It was on the basis of identity of aims that the Trotskyist bandits arrived at collaboration with the Gestapo. But it is on the same basis that collaboration, reciprocal exchange of services between the police, on one hand, and the Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries, on the other, is established in the capitalist countries.

Is it true, yes or no, that it was a wretch who was connected at one and the same time with the police and with the Trotskyist groups in Paris who had planned to kill our Comrade Marcel Cachin, and was only prevented from doing so by accidental circumstances?

Is it true, yes or no, that it was an exposed provocateur, connected with the Trotskyist groups, who killed our Comrade Camille Montanari, one of the best fighters of the vanguard of the Italian proletariat?

It is true, yes or no, that the principal witness for the persecution against Dimitroff placed by the fascist police at the disposal of the state prosecutor in Leipzig, one Karwane, had been expelled from the Party for being a member of a Zinoviev group, subsequently passing over to Trotskyism?

Maria Reese, who was expelled from the Communist Party of Germany for defending Trotsky's defeatist views on the subject of German fascism, became one of the leaders of the German Trotskyists and, during the Saar plebiscite, made a Hitlerite speech over the radio with the approval of the German Trotskyist press.

Nils Hyg, one of the leaders of the Trotskyist wing of the Kilboom Party in Sweden, drew on the funds of Ivar Kreuger who financed fascist organizations as well.

The publisher of a Trotskyist paper appearing legally in Budapest, where Communist propaganda is prosecuted as high treason, is Weisshauss, a renegade, a Trotskyist, who in 1926 organized an attack on the life of Comrade Rakosi, when the latter was working illegally in the country.

Ruth Fischer, liaison agent between Trotsky and the terrorist sent by him to the Soviet Union, is the closest collaborator of Doriot, leader of a fascist "party" which is linked up with the reactionary chiefs of the Paris police.

In Poland it is the police who publish Trotskyist pamphlets and try to circulate them amongst the workers.

In Italy, Trotsky's autobiography, which is a model of slander against the Bolshevik Party, is recommended by the police for the prison libraries.

In France, when the police seek to find a pretext to attack the demonstrations of the People's Front, they always find Trotskyist provocateurs to play their game. The line of the Trotskyists in France which is not only to smash the United Front and the People's Front but to drive small groups of workers and declassed elements to undertake terrorist adventurist "armed action"—this line completely corresponds to the plans of the fascists and the police.

In Spain, crushed by the powerful development of the People's Front, the remnants of the Trotskyist sect furnish agent provocateurs who, together with the fascists, organize attempts on the lives of Communist and republican leaders.

That connections exist between the police and the Trotskyites is an irrefutable fact. The reactionary journalist de Kerillis has stated in *Echo de Paris* that the French police possess proofs of close connections between the activity of the Trotskyists and the Gestapo. M. de Kerillis is doubtlessly well-informed on this subject. It is only to be regretted that the Minister for the Interior, the Socialist Salengro, has not yet placed the materials showing these connections at this disposal of the working class organizations. Were he to do so, he would do a service to the whole working class movement and to all honest people in France.

V. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TROTSKYISM IS THE DUTY OF EVERY HONEST WORKING MAN

The international working class movement must rid itself once and for all of the Trotskyist scum. An end must be put to the tendency to regard the Trotskyist counter-revolutionary sects and their adherents as a section of the working class movement. An end must be put to toleration of these agents of the enemy. A stop must be put to the idea that the struggle against the Trotskyists is a task which only concerns the Communists. The task of the struggle against Trotskyism must be approached in a new way. The whole working class movement, all the organizations of the working class must be purged radically and once and for all of the bandits who worm their way into the workers' ranks in order to spread the instructions and slogans of fascism, in order to carry out the orders of the class enemy. The working class will not succeed in defeating its enemies if it tolerates in its ranks the agents sent there by these enemies.

The widest sections of the working people, the entire people must be roused for the struggle against the scoundrels who murdered Kirov, who plotted the murder of Stalin, and who are trying to divide, disrupt, and destroy the forces of the proletariat. The whole people of the Soviet Union rose up as one man against the dastardly terrorists and demanded their extermination. In the capitalist countries, the vanguard of the proletariat must, with the active participation of the working people, denounce the Trotskyists and prove in a convincing way, on the basis of the words and deeds of the Trotskyists themselves, that they are the agents of fascism, and drive them out ruthlessly from among the working class.

Herein lies the chief lesson to be drawn from the Moscow trial.

The Socialist workers, especially in France, have already had their own experience with the Trotskyists. The counter-revolutionary Trotskyists tried first to settle themselves in our ranks, but we drove them out. We shall continue to appeal for vigilance in order to prevent Trotskyists from penetrating into our ranks. After they were driven out of the Communist Party, they found a haven in the Social-Democratic organizations. The Socialist workers, however, soon perceived the destructive work being carried on by the Trotskyists in their ranks. The Trotskyists sowed confusion in the Seine Federation of the Socialist Party, which, until the Trotskyists made it the arena of their intrigues, played the historic role of Left wing of the Socialist Party. The development of the Socialist youth organization was likewise checked when the Trotskyists joined it. This body had to follow the example set by us and drive them out. The Trotskyists in Belgium played the same role of disorganizers of the Socialist movement. Their criminal role in Spain is universally known. We cannot be indifferent to the fact that the enemies of the proletariat, on being driven from our ranks, find refuge in the Socialist organizations. We want to join with the Socialist organizations in creating a united force capable of carrying on a victorious struggle against fascism and for peace. We denounce the enemies of the united

struggle to the Socialist workers and call on them to rid themselves of these traitors. To defend the Socialist organizations, the trade unions, and all the workers' organizations without exception against Trotskyist penetration is part of our struggle against fascism.

On the basis of abundant historical material we prove to the Socialist workers that their leaders are lying to them when they assert that those who were in the dock at the trial of Trotskyist terrorists were old revolutionaries, incapable of committing the monstrous crimes with which they were charged. The history of Bolshevism is not yet so universally known that every worker in capitalist countries is in a position at once to understand the falseness of this argument. But, on the basis of the experience of their own countries, they know of striking examples of how men who in the past played an important role in the working class movement turned traitors and degenerated. Millerand, Mussolini, Pilsudski, MacDonald and Doriot are classic examples of such treachery. It is universally known that the people who become traitors are those who have already shown in the ranks of the working class movement their weaknesses and vices which develop and bring them into the service of the enemy, and turn them into executioners of their former comrades-in-arms.

It is the duty of the Communist Parties to make the history of the C.P.S.U. known to the widest masses of the people. That is the most effective means of stamping out the lies spread by the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy. It is the most effective means of preventing the Trotskyist poison from being spread among inexperienced young workers, of preventing this poison from infecting Socialist workers who are sincerely revolutionary.

The Moscow trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist bandits imposes on all working class organizations the task of sharpening class vigilance. This trial has proved that the enemy resorts to every means of disguise in order to be able to carry on his work of disorganization within our ranks and to plan the most dastardly crimes. A correct political line is not enough if the enemy is to be unmasked, to be punished, and prevented from carrying out his dangerous work. What is wanted is that all members of working class organizations should independently exercise strictest vigilance on every occasion and at every moment of their activity in respect to everything and everybody. This vigilance is particularly necessary at the present time, when the ranks of many Communist Parties are growing rapidly, and when ever greater tasks are confronting them. The bourgeoisie and the fascists are trying every means whereby to send their agents into our ranks. For this illicit work they seek to utilize the situation arising out of the mass influx of members into our organizations. It would be a very serious mistake to think that we can avoid this danger by remaining small sects, by preventing the access to our organizations of working people who wish to join us. On the contrary, the ever growing mass character of our organizations will make it easier for us to unmask the agents of the enemy, provided that revolutionary class vigilance becomes the duty of every rank-and

file Party member and that we educate all Party members in this spirit.

We must know our men, learn to know them. Part of the activity of each Party member must be devoted to a complete, exact, and detailed study of the people with whom he works and with whom he is in contact. Only in this way will the Party and all working class organizations be effectively protected against penetration by the enemy.

* * *

The Moscow trial was a touchstone. It was a touchstone of our class vigilance, of our ability to recognize the agents of the enemy, to tear off their mask. It was a touchstone of the firmness of our bonds with the Socialist workers. It enabled us to check up as to which are the countries where these bonds are yet too weak, and in which countries our struggle for the United Front and the People's Front must become broader, more systematic, and more profound. It has shown that the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, by virtue of their hatred for the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and triumphant socialism, are ready to try to smash the unity of the working class and of the masses of the people in the struggle against fascism and for peace. It has shown us that our struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism is not yet adequate, that it must be extended, improved, raised to a much higher level, and transformed into a struggle of all that is sound and honest in the ranks of the working class against penetration into the ranks of the proletariat by fascism, its ideology, and its agents.

The Moscow trial will not be, as the fascists and reactionary Social-Democrats had fondly hoped, the occasion for a weakening of the bonds between the Communist and Social-Democratic workers. Through it we shall strengthen these bonds, tear off the mask from the agents of fascism, and march forward to fulfil the historic task which lies before us, namely, the achievement of unity of the working class and the People's Front in the struggle against fascism, and for peace.

The People's Front and Tasks Facing the Communist Party of France

By MAURICE THOREZ

THE victory of the People's Front at the polls gave rise to tremendous enthusiasm among the masses. Strikes broke out throughout the country and lasted until the middle of June. This struggle of the masses accompanied by the occupation of the factories led to the adoption of the following social legislation by Parliament:

1. Collective agreements guaranteeing definite wage rates, and the introduction, for the first time in France, of the system of shop stewards, *i.e.*, the factual recognition of the trade unions and the authority of the trade unions in the factories.

2. The organization of holidays with pay for all workers. Workers 55 and 60 years of age went on holiday for eight or ten days this year for the first time in their lives—at the expense of their employers, of course.

3. The 40-hour week without wage reductions. A number of decrees have still to be introduced so as to enforce this law in the different branches of industry.

4. An increase of pensions to 6,000 francs a year for pensioned miners.

5. The putting into effect of the decrees passed by the Doumergue and Laval governments affecting the salaries of lower civil servants, workers and employees in the big public services and undertakings.

6. The establishment of a bureau to regulate the sale of grain, the Central Council of which has just fixed the price of grain at 140 francs a quintal,* whereas the small peasants sold grain last year at 70 francs, and even 60 per quintal; even the rich peasants were able to sell at the end of season at no more than 110 francs.

7. Credits to small traders, and the calling off of eviction proceedings against small traders for debt and non-payment of rent.

8. Subsidies to the export industries in the form of guarantees. This is of great importance, not so much for the large scale undertakings in which the working class is chiefly exploited as for the small industrialists and artisans who are in a difficult position at the present time.

A reform in the structure of the Bank of France has also been decided upon. On the Regency Council (Managing Board) which has consisted since Napoleon's time of fifteen regents, apart from three civil servants, six have been representatives of the big banks, the chief of which handed down these posts from father to son for generations. This council has been replaced by a council of administration which includes representatives of the economic, industrial, commercial, agricul

* Quintal—100 lbs.—*Ed.*

tural and even workers' groups—Jouhaux, the leader of the General Confederation of Labor, is a member of the administrative council of the Bank of France.

A law establishing the nationalization of war industry has been passed.

Then again, there is the decree dissolving the fascist leagues, a circular from the Minister of War calling for an improvement in the material conditions of the soldiers, and a government decision raising the soldiers' pay from five to twenty sous per day.

All these measures naturally find an echo among the masses notwithstanding the difficulties of which I shall speak further on. The People's Front continues to gain ground among the people. This is proven by the partial municipal or district elections and the parliamentary by-elections which have taken place since the formation of the People's Front government. Thus, at the by-elections of three seats formerly held by reactionaries two have been lost, one in France and one in Corsica. These are two new seats won for the People's Front.

A proof of the continued wave of enthusiasm is the increase in the membership of the C.G.T. which has reached the 5,000,000 figure. The same is true of the increase in membership of our Party which has increased to 254,000, ten times as many as a few years ago, while our youth organization, the membership of which was 3,000 two years ago, now numbers 89,000 members. The Socialist Party is also growing, it has gained 30,000 members, and now has 170,000 members; the Socialist youth movement has also increased its members from about 15,000 in 1935 to the present figure of 28,000.

It is very important that our progress is not at the expense of the Socialist Party, and that the considerable growth of the united forces of the Communists and Socialists is taking place accompanied by a strong modification of the relation of forces in favor of the Communists.

But here is where difficulties arise. As early as June the Party had to say to the workers: "You must know how to end strikes at the proper time."

Why did the Party do this?

Because the Party realized that a more rapid advance on the part of the working class risked its estrangement from the middle classes who were disturbed and made uneasy by the strikes. Since then, the difficulties have become more serious on the economic field. The big bourgeoisie are, on the one hand, trying to sabotage the extensive new social legislation and, on the other, are increasing the cost of living and taking advantage of this increase to try and recover the concessions wrung from them by the workers. It must be remembered that there has been no appreciable economic recovery in France; that unemployment is stationary, and that it is even higher than it was last year, that there has been no improvement in the financial situation, that the deficit is increasing,* that the loan issued by the government has not met with the success expected; that the increase in wages and social legislation

* This article was written prior to the publication of the law regarding the devaluation of the franc.—*Ed. Board.*

have given rise to an increase in industrial prices, which agricultural prices, on account of the poor harvest, are also rising—including those of corn, wine, meat and other food products.

The bourgeoisie are getting ready for new attacks on the political front as well. A revival of activity is to be noted among the "parties" which are only camouflaged fascist leagues, including the French Social Party (Parti Social Francais) of de la Rocque, and the new "party" organized by the renegade Doriot, while the agitation carried on by *l'Ami du Peuple*, the paper owned by the fascist Taittinger, is also being intensified. To this recrudescence of the fascist movement is added the activity of the "agrarians", who did not hesitate to organize an attack on our Comrade Jean Renaud at a meeting organized by our Party in Yvetot.

When the Michelin works in Clermont-Ferrand was occupied by the workers, the employers retaliated by having the police prefecture occupied by members of the strikebreakers' association which they organized in the works against the trade unions. The workers set out immediately for the prefecture. The "garde mobile" drove out the fascists, the Prefect was removed, but the whole incident shows the insolence of the fascists. Encouraged by the criminal rebellion of Franco in Spain and in Morocco, they are active in Alsace-Lorraine where unquestionably the hand of Hitler is to be seen.

Finally, several dumps of arms have been discovered recently in Oran, Cambrai, and in several other places. If we consider the insufficient measures taken by the government which has issued a decree against the fascist leagues, but is not enforcing it in the country, and has not even made a list of the members of these leagues; if we consider that notwithstanding the slogan launched by Leon Blum before he became Prime Minister, namely: "Let some republican air into the public services," he has not done so yet, and that, in spite of the lesson of Spain, prefects, chiefs of police, generals like Denain, and Peyrouton, the governor general of Morocco, still hold their former positions, we see that the situation is serious and that the possibility is not excluded that the fascists may try to utilize the hesitating attitude of the government to attempt an attack.

It may be said that these difficulties are for the most part a result of the development of the class struggle in France, of the clash of conflicting interests, of resistance to unity of action, to the movement of the masses, to the People's Front.

But on one point, namely, the defense of peace, the difficulties are due mainly to the attitude of the government.

This may be seen in the Spanish question. The policy of the government is a policy of capitulation before fascism and, in particular, Hitler fascism. Blum yields to threats, to the blackmail of the warmongers, who are arming openly and cynically under the pretext of preserving peace. But Blum stated at a Socialist meeting held in Luna Park that he wanted to "appeal to the sense of honor" of the fascist dictators. He even said that there was no hint of proof that the non-intervention

pact had been violated by any power. This is tantamount to saying to Hitler or Mussolini: "Go ahead, do as you like." The Spanish Socialist Minister, Prieto, made a strong reply to this argument of Blum. Zyromski in *Populaire* tells how the insurgents continue to receive supplies.

Blum went further. He declared: If we had furnished arms to the Spanish republicans we should have been outdone by other countries with greater potential power than we have. This is tantamount to accepting a breach of law in favor of the rebels, to agreeing to place in the same category regular lawful assistance to the Spanish government and the assistance given by Hitler and Mussolini to the fascists. It is also equivalent to saying that at present we are in an inferior position to Hitler, giving in to his bluff and his threats and directly encouraging him to continue.

Our Party opposed this policy of the government both with regard to Spain and in respect to Schacht's visit to Paris, two days after the lengthening of military service in Germany. It had already seemed strange to us that the "visits of courtesy" of M. Labeyrie, the governor of the Bank of France, should have begun with Berlin, but we bitterly resent the special honors paid to Hitler's envoy. Blum, accompanied by Vincent Auriol, the Minister for Finance, attended an official dinner given by Labeyrie to Schacht. I wrote a letter to Blum, which I have published, in which I state that such an attitude is not in keeping with the honor and dignity of our people, nor with the interests of peace.

I have stated at public meetings that if someone bangs his fist on the table, we refuse to hide under the table. We are in favor of parleys, even with Hitler, but on the lines of the program of the People's Front, the program adopted by the majority of the French people, *i.e.*, on the basis of the principles of collective security, of the indivisibility of peace, and within the framework of the League of Nations—principles which are repudiated by Hitler. The program of the People's Front states that we must work to organize mutual assistance after the example of the Franco-Soviet pact. This was the mandate given by the French people in the last elections.

Our task is to preserve the People's Front at all costs.

Comrade Dimitroff in his closing speech at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern pointed out that the People's Front opens up new perspectives for the struggle of the working class for its material interests, for peace and democracy. The People's Front is rallying large masses of people around the working class. Comrade Dimitroff emphasized the point that the People's Front develops on the solid foundation of the united front of the proletariat. This requires great activity on the part of the Communist Party, the initiator of the People's Front.

Fascism, which preaches a holy war against Bolshevism, is fighting the People's Front with special vigor, representing it as an instrument of Bolshevism. All the harangues at the Congress of the German Nazis at Nuremberg were directed not only against Bolshevism, against the Soviet Union, but also against the People's Front in France and the French Communist Party.

The persistance of these attacks on the People's Front explains ou great anxiety and care to fulfil our whole duty to the working class Spain and to the Spanish Republic, while at the same time preventin a split in the People's Front in France.

Our Party has no illusions as to the difficulties of the present situ ation in France. It must consider the complexity of the mood of th masses who do not all advance at the same pace, and do not act in th same way. There are workers who advance more quickly, whose mil tancy and whose discontent with economic conditions are increasin And so strikes are beginning again. Let us emphasize the fact that strike are beginning in a district like the Nord, where the Socialists have r mained stronger than we.

The workers are enthusiastically supporting our attitude in th Spanish question. This was seen in the elections in working class center where we received a majority, as in Carvin (Nord) and in Montherm (Ardennes).

The Socialist workers received Blum in Luna Park with shouts o "Blum, take action, send airmen to Spain!"

But the middle classes are disturbed. Discontent with economi conditions might turn them from the People's Front and towards th fascist leagues.

The petty bourgeoisie is afraid of Hitler, for it still has stron memories of the "great victory" of 1918, and would not like to see tha victory nullified. The mood of the petty bourgeoisie is one of timidity an fear. That is why the bourgeoisie is at present waging a campaig against the Communist Party, and this is where the attitude of certai leaders of the Socialist Party comes in.

They support the attack of the reactionary leaders of the Secon International against the Soviet Union in connection with the sentenc passed on the counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists. *Popu laire* published a hateful article to which we have given a suitable reply Certain leaders of the Socialist Party tried to utilize the term "Frenc Front" used by our Party to disturb the relations existing betwee Communist and Socialist workers. This slogan, we thought, would hel us win supporters among the four million workers and peasants wh voted for the reaction at the last election, and thus help to apply th program of the People's Front.

The example of Spain has made us realize that we must, at an cost, win over this mass basis, which has escaped our influence up ti now, so that we may be able to resist the fascist menace more effectivel

It was not a question of parliamentary action, but of uniting o one definite point, in the struggle to safeguard peace, even with tho who do not agree with the whole program of the People's Front, as w the case at the Brussels Congress, and at the Youth Congress in Gene

With regard to Spain, in particular, we tried to show that it w in the interests of 99 per cent of the French people, as for the ent People's Front, to save the Spanish republic against the intervention f Hitler, and that thus we were workin~ effectively to save peace.

But the Socialists, who have received the applause of the worst reactionaries in France for their attitude on the Spanish question, tried to criticize us from the "Left", as they did when we launched the idea of the People's Front. They attempted to represent themselves as defenders of the People's Front against us—they who had fought against it and accepted it against their will!

Our Party was quick to realize the danger. We sent a letter to the Socialist Party in which we proposed common action, adding:

> "We should like, moreover, to dispel a misunderstanding which has arisen between us concerning the watchword 'French Front'. We believe we were right in pursuing, in the interests of the working class and the French people, a broad policy of unity which embraces all but the capitalist minority, 'the two hundred families' and their hirelings, the leaders of the fascist bands.
>
> "We believe that a rapprochement is possible with the greater bulk of the peasants and workers who on May 3, 1936, voted more than four million strong for the candidates opposed to the People's Front. We think it correct not to refuse the cooperation of these people who cannot entirely agree with the full program of the People's Front, in order to realize one point or other of this program. This is what made the World Peace Congress in Brussels a success. In any case, the question for us is one of working to strengthen the People's Front according to the formula which has been and will continue to be our line of conduct: *All for the People's Front, all through the People's Front.*
>
> "We think also that we can continue within the framework which unites us while developing our own political line, without attacking or abusing our brother party. However, being anxious as ever to do or say nothing that may affect the fraternal bonds that unite Communist and Socialist workers, and in order to avoid polemics between us, which would only be to the advantage of the enemies of the working class, we can refrain from using the term 'French Front'."

Thus we showed ourselves to the Socialist workers as people desirous of unity.

All for unity, all for Spain, all for peace, all against fascism which is rearing its head again, all against the high cost of living, all for the People's Front.

And here it is very important that we should be in agreement on all the essential questions of the moment with the Confederation Generale du Travail (C.G.T.) The C.G.T. in its last resolution proclaimed its solidarity with all the organizations composing the People's Front, hence, with us Communists, and reaffirmed its confidence in the government, adding: "But the Executive Committee states that the chances of obtaining complete non-intervention are compromised by the attitude of those countries which are linked up with the Spanish insurgents," that is to say, it maintained a position which coincides with that of our

Party. The builders' and metal workers' unions passed resolutions of a similar character.

In a speech dealing with the People's Front, Jouhaux said, as we do, that: "We give all our confidence to the government, but the whole of our policy is directed against the blockade of republican Spain."

The Party cannot but approve of the position of the C.G.T. as far as concerns the necessity for the application of the social legislation and the collective agreements. Our Political Bureau has repeatedly demanded, and is now demanding, the application of the 40-hour week and the starting of big work schemes. It is pleasant to note that in all these questions the position of our Party and that of the C.G.T. coincide.

At the joint meetings of the Left Parliamentary groups, where we have been fighting from the beginning for our slogans, we have bene importuned with questions. We had been told: "It is impossible for you to continue your campaign on the Spanish question," to which we have replied: "It is our right, it is our duty."

We have been asked: "What will your attitude be in the Chamber, are the Communists going to oppose the government?"

We have answered: When the question comes up in Parliament, the Communists will send one of their representatives to the tribune to say: "Yes, we disagree with the policy of the government in the Spanish question, and this is why we have waged the struggle, but we shall give the 72 Communist votes to the government because we do not want to let the fascists overthrow the government formed as a result of the victory of the Peoples' Front."

It was thought that this was a new answer, whereas this answer was directly based on a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of May 25 last. In this resolution the Central Committee foresaw the eventuality of the Communist Party having to protest against certain actions of the government without giving the reaction the opportunity of overthrowing the government. We support the government for what it has given, because this corresponds to the will of the masses: we support it for what it can and must still give.

But we criticize it frankly, and say:

1. Divergencies exist between us, chiefly because you have begun to capitulate to fascism both inside the country and in the international arena. This is clearly seen in the Spanish question, where you give way to Hitler and his insolent threats. You repeat the slanders of Laval and the reactionaries against the Communists, when you say that we want war, whereas we are fighting for peace without loss of national dignity, while your policy favors and encourages the warmongers. All this, moreover, brings you the support of the reaction.

2. You are capitulating before the base attack of the fascist press which is openly supporting Hitler and Mussolini, throwing mud at the Spanish republic, beginning provocation again, and sowing slander against yourselves and against us. When he is attacked and slandered by the fascist press, the Minister for Home Affairs sends letters correcting these statements, whereas we say: "Throw the fascists into prison."

By acting as you are, you are estranging the working class which blames you for your inertia.

3. Another example of capitulation is on the question of the cost of living. Instead of taking effective measures against the speculators, you deny that the cost of living is high.

4. Finally the working class and all the people who support the People's Front are dissatisfied that, after the lesson of Spain, you are failing to take the necessary measures to clear the fascists out of the public services.

One of the conditions under which the Communist Party can continue to be active on behalf of the masses of the people in order to maintain our united front with the Socialist workers and the People's Front must be attention to immediate demands.

In the report of the Central Committee presented to the worker in the Renault works we likewise raised questions of this kind.

The fight against the high cost of living. We speak of this at every meeting of the Political Bureau, and we are glad to see that the Seine Socialist Federation has adopted our proposal to establish a joint committee to organize the struggle against the high cost of living. We suggest that the C.G.T. take the initiative and form a broad committee which will bring in trade unions, women's organizations, cooperatives, small traders, housewives, and the different groups of the People's Front.

To our mind it is not merely a question of taking measures against the speculators, but also of looking into attacks of an economic character which determine a rise in prices, and of protecting the workers, civil servants, and small traders against an increase in the cost of living.

In this connection, it will be necessary perhaps to consider the introduction of a sliding scale of wages and salaries into the collective agreement, while arranging the matter in a sufficiently flexible way so as to avoid making the scale of wages depend solely on the price index.

Unemployed. For the unemployed, demands for relief and above all for big public work schemes must be brought forward.

Peasants. In the case of the peasants, it is not merely a question of paying them remunerative prices for their produce, but also of other demands such as revision of rents, moratorium of debts, short term credits at minimum interest rates, and loans for seed and fertilizer.

I quote one instance to indicate the importance of putting forward small demands. The Communist Party raised the question of a reduction in prices of shooting licenses, and we fought until this price was reduced from 74 to 54 francs. The peasants are exceedingly grateful to us for this.

Urban Middle Classes. For the shopkeepers and artisans, we put forward the demand for taxation relief, abolition of taxes on turnover, revision of the annual license tax and its replacement by a single tax on profits, revision of the rules governing the allocation of credits.

Here is another instance of what I said above: our Comrade Gitton wrote to the Minister of Finance pointing out that small hotelkeepers

who used to receive 4 francs a night from the government per unemployed person have had this reduced 10 per cent by the emergency decrees, and now receive only 3.60 francs instead of 4. Gitton proposed that they should get 5 francs. Not only has he received letters from individual hotelkeepers, but he has also received an official expression of gratitude from the president of the small hotelkeepers' association.

For the hotelkeepers we have taken the lead in organizing a tourist campaign for Paris and the tourist centers, sea and health resorts, etc. In the French Riviera (Cote d'Azur), where, be it remembered, we have two Communist deputies, one in Nice and one in Cannes, we have organized excursions for workers receiving holidays with pay, and never before have the small hotelkeepers known such an influx of visitors.

Our Party is the champion of the revival of the arts, literature, the theatre and the cinemas, and as a result we are having success among the intellectuals and artists.

In music, we have organized a federation of folk music. The celebration of the anniversary of the death of Rouget de l'Isle, the author of the *Marseillaise*, was the occasion of a great musical festival, which was very successful. In the same way we take an interest in the artists' needs and requirements in the luxury industries, for which Paris is famous, thus earning us the gratitude of the artisans and workers.

Assistance for small and medium sized industries. Our Party at the National Conference raised the question of tariff protection for the small industrialists, and the question of regulation of imports as a protection against the big trusts, inside and outside the country.

The Communist Party has taken the lead in the question of protection of mother and child. In my election speech over the radio I raised the question of combatting the declining birth rate. We said: The Communists want happy childhood. They want happy families; and one of our posters, which shows a worker and his wife, with a child in her arms, over the simple slogan: "The Communists want happy families," has met with great success.

We likewise advocate the protection of the interests of young people. We have demanded credits for stadiums, swimming pools, playgrounds, and for the training of experienced instructors. The leaders of sports organizations recognize that only the Communists are defending the interests of sports. I need not mention the effect of this on our young people who are enthusiastic about sports.

And we added: if the young people have to be given work, the old must be allowed to rest. We have demanded an increase or rather the establishment of pensions for old people.

In order to finance all these projects we have put forward the demand: Make the rich pay. Our proposal is: Tax the big fortunes. The program of the People's Front called for increased taxation on big incomes and the adoption of strict measures against those attempting to evade the payment of taxes, the total sum of taxes still to be paid amounting to more than 8,000,000,000 francs. At least a progressive tax on capital could be applied here in this republican France as it is

already applied in monarchist England. Bonds could also be consolidated and converted with compensation to the small bondholder. This would not exclude a better organized issue of local loans with a view to starting public works such as the building of schools, stadiums, roads, electrification, water supply, etc.

The Party raises all these questions and says: Make the rich pay for all this. At the same time, vigilance and strong action against manifestations of fascist activity are necessary.

A wide campaign for peace must be developed following on the results of the Brussels Congress.

What must be our attitude to the church? The rebellion in Spain, which has the support of the clergy, the campaign of the church in favor of the rebels and against the republicans, show the great influence of the clergy and the church among the masses. We must raise the question of our attitude to the church on a very broad scale. We must realize that every social movement has its repercussions in the church in one form or another, and the movement which is directed towards the building of socialism cannot but leave its marks on the church.

What has been our experience in this respect? In my election broadcast, I addressed an appeal to those who support the fascists in the following words: "We hold out our hand to you, national volunteer, ex-soldier who are now a member of the *Croix de Feu*, because you are a son of our people, you suffer like we do from the disorder and corruption that prevail here, because you, like we, do not want to see our country overwhelmed in ruin and catastrophe.

Further I addressed the following appeal to Catholics:

> "We hold out our hand to you, Catholic workers, clerks, artisans, peasants, we who are free-thinkers, because you are our brothers and are oppressed by the same cares as we are."

This simple appeal has aroused considerable response in the country. We have received hundreds of letters from Catholics, workers, employees, men and women, and from priests, asking us what our position is. We have said:

> "Your mode of thinking, your convictions are your business. We do not believe in God, we are Communists, materialists, consequently non-believers: but we are not sectarians or bigots. The Party has done all that was necessary to unite the workers, Communists and Catholics, in the battle for bread, for ourselves, our wives and our children, for peace and freedom."

We called to mind the words of Lenin, regarding the attitude of the workers' party to religion.

Lenin, as is well known, said in 1909:

> "A Marxist must place the success of the strike movement above all else, must definitely oppose the division of the workers in this struggle into atheists and Christians, must fight resolutely against such a division. In such circumstances the preaching of atheism may prove superfluous and harmful—not from

> the narrow-minded consideration of not frightening the backward elements, or of losing at elections, etc., but from the point in view of the actual progress of the class struggle, which, in the condition of modern capitalist society, will convert Christian workers to Social-Democracy, and to atheism a hundred times more effectively than any bald atheist sermons. To preach atheism at such a time, and in such circumstances, would only be playing *into the hands* of the church and priests, who would desire nothing better than to replace the division of the workers according to their participation in the strike, by their division according to their belief in God. The Anarchist, who preaches war against God at all costs, would actually be of help to the priests and bourgeoisie (as *in fact* the Anarchists always are)."

This has been our line. In the town I represent, where nearly 70 per cent of the men voted Communist, the cure sent me a letter:

> "You have made certain statements which have had considerable repercussions among my flock and this raises problems about which I should like to talk with you."

With the permission of the Party, and accompanied by a member of the Central Committee, I had an interview with the cure of Ivry and we talked. He asked me: "Do you give up the struggle against the church?" "Do you renounce the struggle against Communism?" I asked him in reply. "The point is to find out if the Catholic workers and the Communist workers can come to an understanding. For example, are you not on the Unemployed Committee, side by side with the Communist mayor and the Communists, to defend the unemployed?" "Yes," he answered. A few days later at a public meeting of 25,000 working men and women, I mentioned this talk with the cure of Ivry for the benefit of those who were in the strike, and the Catholics applauded and said: "Yes, we are on the side of the Communists."

Better still: at a big meeting in Nice, where 10,000 people were present, a young priest in his soutane came up to me after I had spoken and said. "In your broadcast speech you held out your hand to the Catholics. I am proud to come and shake hands with you here before everybody, I, a Catholic priest." And he told how he is closer to us Communists than to the Pharisees who, after indulging in their base pleasures in the evening, come to his church to confess and receive absolution. "In speaking thus to a Communist," he said, "I am not guilty before my God, for Jesus Christ never said that people must die of hunger to enable the capitalists to grow fat." He was warmly applauded. This priest, who was chaplain in a college, was subsequently reprimanded for his action by his bishop.

And the Pope intervened. In view of the progress made by Communists in France among the Catholics, he said: "Under no conditions must there be any agreement with Communists." We replied to the Pope with a poster entitled: "A reply to the Pope" which was read with great interest. In this poster we said:

"Because we agree to unite in the struggle for bread, the Pope comes and tries to divide us. Our aim is unity."

This poster contained no word of abuse, but merely emphasized .e point that it is the Pope who wants to divide the people. All the apers stressed the justice and dignity of the reply. So true was this at some weeks later the Pope had our poster reprinted in his paper *Osservatore Romano* with a long article replying to it. Since the ope continued to insist we issued another poster, and even drew up a ply addressed to the Papal Nuncio in Paris.

Some of the Socialist comrades get angry too on this point. When e denounced their sterile anti-clericalism, the *Populaire* said:

"The workers of the Nord will perhaps be surprised to learn that they will henceforth have to apologize if, when demonstrating in the streets, they happen to shout even a little 'Boo! Boo! biretta!'"*

We replied immediately:

"We would simply point out that the workers in the Nord, who were brought up as the disciples of Jules Guesde in the school of the old French Workers' Party, cannot but approve of the attitude of our Communist Party towards Catholic workers."

They know that the French Workers' Party called on all the workers o unite on the ground of their economic interests, laying aside all eligious or philisophical differences which might serve to divide them, nd not permitting themselves to take up any attitude which would hurt he personal convictions of the workers. They know that in 1892, when he Socialists had just won Roubaix, and the Mayor, Henri Carette, pened school dining rooms, he made a rule that fish should be served n Fridays instead of meat. They are aware of the resolution adopted at ne Congress of Issoudon (the National Congress of the French Workers' arty held on September 21 and 22, 1902), condemning "in particular he anti-clericalism of which our leaders make such parade", and declaring that "religions and supernatural conceptions will only disappear n a society where all exploiting classes have disappeared, and humanity, eing master of the means of production, will again be its own provience".

In other words, in this struggle we have taken the position of the rench Workers' Party. We have armed ourselves with Lenin's arguents. The Catholic paper, *L'Aube*, says:

"At the same time we cannot support the Socialists who are against the Christians and against the Communists who associate with them."

And we believe that we are acting in the spirit of Lenin who wrote 1 1909:

* Distinctive hat worn by Catholic priests on the Continent.

"The Marxist must be a materialist, *i.e.*, an enemy of religion. But he must be a dialectical materialist, *i.e.*, one who carries on the struggle against religion not in the abstract, not on the basis of abstract, purely theoretical sermonizing which never amounts to more than words, but concretely on the basis of the class struggle *actually* proceeding, and which educates the masses more and better than anything else could do. . . .

"We must not only admit into the Social-Democratic Party all those whorkers who retain faith in God, we must *redouble our efforts* to recruit them. We are absolutely opposed to the slightest affront to these workers' religious feelings and convictions. But we recruit them in order to educate them in the spirit of our program, and not in order to carry on an active struggle against it."*

I shall deal briefly with organizational questions.

The organization of the united front for contacts with the rank-and-file Socialist workers in the coordination committees has to take place in the various committees of the People's Front, Amsterdam-Pleyel peace committees, etc., etc., in relations between Communist and Socialist municipalities, between Socialists and Communists in the cultural and educational organizations.

The workers joined the trade unions during or after the strikes in which their interests were defended. And we must defend their interests. We shall maintain our efforts to create that many-sided basis already partly laid in certain trade unions. We wish even to examine the question of the "Gand system"** and of state aid to the unions with a view to assisting the workers throughout their lives, and to helping to provide for their children from birth, and during the period of schooling and apprenticeship up to their marriage, and so on till death (*i.e.*, the payment of funeral benefits).

We rejoice to note that in certain trade unions, systems of organization of workers' holidays are being studied. Every worker by paying a few francs every week into a fund will receive a small sum of money when his holidays arrive to enable him to go off to one of the rest homes we are trying to organize. Already, trade unionists have raised the question in the Paris district of the metal workers' union with a membership of 225,000. It has secured premises which are to be organized so as to satisfy all the demands of the metal workers, including reading room, library, cafe, restaurant, bar, cinema, dance hall, etc.

The organizational work of the Party. We have now in the Party 254,000 regularly paying members. In January in Villeurbanne, our slogan was: On to 100,000 members! At the elections our membership was 120,000. In three months this figure doubled. This raises considerable problems, particularly in the factories.

In the Renault automobile works our Party has 4,000 members, 400 departmental groups, and 17 branch committees. The secretary of

* Lenin, *The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion.*

** The Gand system of unemployment insurance is practiced in Belgium, Holland, Denmark and other capitalist countries. It consists of the state or municipality making contributions to the voluntary insurance clubs organized by the trade unions, or in paying those insured in these clubs additional allowances.

his organization is the same comrade as three years ago when the arty had only 100 members there. There are other works where we ave several hundreds and a thousand members each. All this raises umerous problems of leadership for the Party and the trade unions. he Renault works has 31,000 trade unionists out of a total of 33,000 orkers, and of 92 shop stewards, 75 are Communists.

It should also be stressed that many of the new Party members ere active members of the Unitary trade unions, but there are others ho are newcomers to the movement altogether. The Party is unable as et to cope with the needs of education, in spite of numerous circles, chools, and conferences. Vigilance in respect to personnel must also be ncreased. Our cadres are still insufficiently strong and firm. Sometimes ur comrades act rather slowly, and display a lack of initiative. Many ctive members have been tested by three or four years' experience, but his is not enough. We must advance those who come to the Communist arty, train political leaders out of those who have shown themselves s leaders in strikes, and as militant trade unionists. Workers have ecome Mayors of large towns and have directed the work entrusted to hem with authority. But all this must now be directed with great larity and firmness so as to continue to strengthen the organization of he revolutionary proletariat.

Our Party is faced with many serious tasks. The most essential of hese of the moment are: to preserve the People's Front, to preserve he present pitch of enthusiasm and the urge for unity among the asses for the application of the program worked out in common, not o lose the contacts with the rank-and-file Socialist workers, to work to in over the middle classes, to support the government while not giving p criticism of it.

We must consolidate the united front, the trade union organizations nd the Party, and be alert at every step. To boldness and initiative e must add great prudence and firmness.

We are fully determined to accomplish our task and to win new uccesses with the help and advice of the Communist International.

The Congress of the Warmongers

By WILHELM FLORIN

THE Nuremberg Party Congress of the German fascists is over. The din of loud-speakers, the thunder of tanks, guns, and bombing planes, and the martial tread of drilled masses of men have subsided, and the German people are now asking themselves: What was the aim of the Nuremberg parade? What was the meaning of the long-winded speeches and thunderous proclamations?

What did the deafening clamor against the Soviet Union mean?

To this question there can be only one answer: the intention was to deafen the German people and to drown their question: "What has Hitler given us?" The intention was to divert the attention of the German workers, of the peasants and urban middle-classes from the successes of the People's Front in France. The intention was to deceive the civilized world and to lead it astray as to Hitler's real aims.

The deafening clamor of the German fascists against Bolshevism is in reality a declaration of war on European democracy.

It is not for nothing that the speakers at Nuremberg all asserted that democracy is only a prelude to Bolshevism. It is not for nothing that they declared so emphatically that Bolshevism was advancing in Spain and France. It is not for nothing that they alleged that democratic Czechoslovakia is only a subsidiary of the Soviet Union. It is not for nothing that they hysterically asserted that the pact between France and the Soviet Union has no other aim than to prepare for the Bolshevik revolution in Europe and to carry it out with the backing of the whole strength of the Red Army.

When the German fascists threaten the Soviet Union, they have in mind Czechoslovakia, France and the other democratic states of Europe which are striving to preserve peace.

The Soviet Union is not afraid of the hysterical threats of Hitler imperialism. It is strong and invincible. But—honest men in all countries are asking themselves—however strong European democracy may be, is it not more directly threatened by fascist aggression than the Soviet Union?

Hitler egged on the Spanish generals to their fascist coup d'etat against the lawful democratic government of Spain. He is supplying guns, airplanes, warships and money. What for? Is it to "free" the Spanish people from a democratically elected government, and to protect Europe from "Bolshevism"? Is it only from disinterested sympathy for the big landlords and capitalists of Spain? No one takes Hitler for a Don Quixote of counter-revolution.

Hitler is out for far more substantial advantages—to win a point d'appui for German imperialism in Morocco, likewise in the Balearic Isles; to try to bring about the military encirclement of France and to

make a big stride forward in his political power in the Mediterranean.

When Hitler occupied the Rhineland, many shortsighted and simple-minded democrats and Socialists said: "He has only taken possession of German territory; there can be no objection to this; this is no fascist aggression against a foreign country."

But is Madrid in Germany? Is Cadiz a German port? *Is Spain a German province? German bombers over Spain and German warships in Spanish waters are danger signals to democratic Europe.* Hitler's war policy beyond the Pyrenees reveals with terrifying clarity what Hitler intends to do on this side of the Pyrenees, what he intends to do in France.

The lawful democratic government of Spain is being attacked by fascist rebels whom Hitler is supplying with arms and money. But Hitler declares: The democratic government has risen against the constitution. The democratic government is threatening the security and peace of Europe. The government of the People's Front is Bolshevism. And since I have been sent by God to extirpate Bolshevism, I have sent my airplanes and warships to Spain.

Hitler's war against democratic Spain is only the dress rehearsal of his war against democratic France. Let those politicians reflect on this, who assert that the cause of peace is served by subjecting democratic Spain, the victim of aggression, to a blockade, by encouraging the fascist aggressor to continue his provocative war policy.

In his speech at the "Session on Culture" during the Nuremberg Party Congress, Hitler coined the formula:

> "*The moral condition for anarchy, nay, the moral foundation of all anarchy, is democracy.* In fact, in its final excesses, democracy inevitably leads to anarchism."

What do Hitler's highly-placed patrons in England think of these words? *What are these words but a declaration of war, not only upon Spanish and French democracy but also upon British democracy?* Great Britain is proud of her democratic traditions. The British people unanimously rejected the experiments in fascism of Sir Oswald Mosley. Now, however, the English Conservatives, Hitler's patrons, hear from his own mouth that not only the People's Front in France, but also British democracy inexorably leads to anarchism and Bolshevism. Therefore when Hitler says "Bolshevism", he really means the bourgeois-democratic regime. But since he has made the "extirpation of Bolshevism" his mission in life, it follows that he is interfering in the internal affairs of all countries. Whoever in England is or holds himself to be a democrat ignores at his peril the menace that lies in these boasts that they have blurted out.

The outbreaks of rage against Bolshevism are solely designed to veil Hitler's immediate plans of conquest and his warlike aims. His threats against the Soviet Union are designed in the first place to intimidate the states bordering on Germany, to induce the capitalists of these countries and their reactionary camp-followers, like Franco and

Gil Robles, to conspire with German imperialism against their own people. Coups d'etat in these countries are calculated to sow confusion in the ranks of the friends of peace in Europe and to disintegrate them. So long as the peace-loving countries present a front that is strong and united, it would be too great a hazard for Hitler to put his war plans into effect.

But if German fascism were to succeed, by means of threats, extortions or offers, in splitting the countries interested in the maintenance of peace, in isolating some of them or in delivering them over to anarchy, then a military attack upon states which are too weak to oppose fascist Germany with their own forces would not be too great a hazard for Hitler. *Alliance with the Soviet Union protects European democracy from Hitler's war plans.* Hence the endeavors of the fascist rulers of Germany to destroy the good relations between the Soviet Union and the bourgeois democratic states.

In the midst of his recruiting appeals for a crusade against "world Bolshevism" Hitler announced *the claim of the German capitalists to colonies.* Hitler's fixed idea that he is "sent by God" to save the world from Bolshevism may please English and other imperialists. But the demand associated with this idea of Hitler's, that Germany be ceded colonies, is by no means to the taste of these imperialists. Hitler has torn up the Versailles Treaty. He has forcibly "uniformitized" (gleichgeschaltet) the German people. He has turned Germany into a barracks. Hitler's army has not yet crossed the German frontier, but he has already begun to announce *Germany's claim to colonial dominations.* How does Hitler justify this claim? Germany, he says, needs colonies for its surplus population. But Germany possessed colonies before 1914, yet there were less than 20,000 Germans living in them. We cannot free ourselves, says Hitler, and it is becoming harder and harder for us to cover our food requirements by imports. That is sheer nonsense. Germany today is importing too little food and raw materials for the production of consumers' goods because she is importing too much raw material for the armaments industry. *The shortage of foodstuffs could be overcome without difficulty: if Germany were to import somewhat less iron ore for tanks, guns and munitions, sufficient foodstuffs and raw materials for articles of mass consumption could be imported.* To forego butter, eggs, meat and cereals, to produce guns and munitions in their stead—*that is wartime economics.* A country that wants peace does not pursue such an economic policy.

The shrieking for war upon Bolshevism and the demand for colonies are intended not only for foreign but also for home consumption. The rulers of the Third Reich want to drown the noise of the throbbing heart of the German people; they want to divert the minds of the workers, the peasants, the middle classes and the section of the bourgeoisie that finds itself in straitened circumstances from their own immediate worries. The burden of the wartime economics is growing daily more intolerable. The hum of the war industries is no longer able to drown the want and discontent of the people. Not only among the evilly-disposed

reigners, but even in the German nation itself, the oppressive and nister measures of the dictators are meeting with less and less sym- athy and understanding. Hitler himself has confessed as much in his roclamation. Notwithstanding his vain boast that he has been able to spire 99 per cent of the German people with enthusiasm for his olicy, he is obliged to admit that the German government is weighed own with grave worries and that "the cause of these worries is un- rtunately often *the great lack of understanding on the part of our wn people*".

What is it that the German people cannot and will not understand? n his proclamation Hitler gave a partial answer to this question. The asses of the people demand from the economic system the satisfaction their needs. But Hitler categorically declares:

> "It is the great task of our national economy to divert the consuming power of our people into channels which we can satisfy by the potentialities of our own national production. Since an increase in the production of our agriculture can only take place to a very limited extent, the increase of our production must take place in other spheres. To these fields it is the task of our national leadership and national education to direct the interest of the nation and to steer its necessities of life into these channels."

Does Herr Hitler really ask for an appreciation of this enormity? e bluntly declares to the German people: Our agriculture cannot pro- uce enough; we will not import the necessary foodstuffs, for we are etermined to satisfy your demands by the products of our own na- onal industry. And so, you will not have enough fats and butter, meat nd eggs, milk and wheat. If you nevertheless demand a square meal, ou are uncomprehending creatures. You must limit your demand solely the things we produce in plenty; you must replace bread by iron, uts by guns, meat by airplanes. It is our task to direct your interest to ese spheres. We are carrying out this attempt by means of the system two years' compulsory military service, military training and by orough and systematic preparations for war. Get used to this and ou will automatically pass from the materialistic life of peace into the ealistic life of war and the ineffable gratification of a hero's death. You ust steer your necessities of life into these channels, and if you don't ke it, well, we have jails, concentration camps and similar training stitutions.

Hitler declared in his proclamation that the annual national income as risen from 41 billion marks to 56 billion, that the government has llected nearly five billion marks in taxes more, per year, than before e dictatorship, and that production has greatly increased. And pro- uction has indeed greatly increased—in the war industry. Numerous ew munition factories have sprung up. The big firms have not only got d of their old debts but are raking in billions of profits. In March, 936, the *Deutsche Bergwerks-Zeitung*, one of the leading papers of e German financial dictators, published the balance sheets of 2,200

firms. As against a loss of 5.2 billion in 1931 and of 3.4 billion in 1932, there was an openly acknowledged profit of 1.2 billion in 1935, and in reality a profit of several billion. It is therefore quite natural that this paper should add: "German industry solidly backs the Fuehrer." Production is expanding, the national income is increasing, the gigantic profits of the employers are growing—but what share in this have the masses of the people, the workers by hand and brain? In 1935 the amount produced was only about 4 to 5 per cent less than in the good year, 1928; but in 1928 the total income in the form of wages and salaries was 43.9 billion marks, and in 1935 only 31.8 billion. Taxes and other payments in 1928 amounted to about 12 per cent of the total income while in 1935 they came to about 23 per cent. In addition to this, there are the numberless contributions for "Winter Aid", airplane funds, the Fuehrer's birthday fund, etc., which make up another 10 to 15 per cent. *Under the dictatorship of Hitler the national income has increased to 56 billion marks a year, but the total income of the workers and employees has decreased by 12 billion marks as compared with 1928.* Does Hitler really ask the German people to appreciate this also!

The German workers have to bear the brunt of these war economics. In the factories there is ruthless rationalization. Piece-rates are being introduced and work speeded up everywhere. The last ounce is being squeezed out of the proletariat. The German worker is saying to himself: if I work more, if the employer earns more, if production is expanding and the national income is increasing, I ought by rights to get more wages. The Nazis promised us *a fair wage*. It is a crying injustice that the employers are increasing their profits, but not my wages. Will Hitler keep his promise and see that the workers get a fair wage, a fair share of the national income? Hitler gave a blunt and categorical answer to this question at Nuremberg: "No!" He said:

> "It is a principle of our National-Socialist economic policy that the determining factor is not that share that falls to the various contracting parties in the economic process.
>
> "It would have been possible for the state and economic leaders to raise wages by 20, 40, or 50 per cent without more ado. But wage increases without an increase of production is self-deception. According to the National-Socialist conception of economics, *it is madness to raise wages and also, where feasible, to shorten hours.* Hence, it has been *the iron principle of the National-Socialist leadership* not to allow any increase of time rates, but to bring about a general increase of income by means of an increase in efficiency, that is to say, by an increase of production."

Nothing could be clearer! Raising wages is madness! Shortening hours is madness! This principle of the most reactionary employers is also the principle of National-Socialism. The determining factor is not the level of wages, but production, and the share that falls to the various contracting parties in the economic process. The "contracting parties in the economic process" (Hitler is fond of pompous phrases)

are the employers and worker. Since Hitler's coming to power an annually increasing share falls to the employers, while to the workers falls the old starvation wage. Billions of profit for the employers and the same miserable wages for the workers—such is the iron economic law of National-Socialism. But this is a law which the German people cannot and will not appreciate!

There are two questions raised by the German people which Hitler answers bluntly and cynically with a "No!" One is the question: "Will we have enough fats and meat, enough bread and butter?" And the other is the question: "Will we get our fair share of the increased production, of the increased national income; will our wages and salaries increase with the increase in the profits of the capitalists?"

But there is also a third question that is troubling the German people—the hardest and gravest of all questions. Nobody in Germany dares to put this question openly, but it is haunting the whole country like a specter; it is not only knocking at the door of the workers and peasants, the office workers and handicraftsmen, but it is also troubling a considerable section of the intelligent bourgeoisie who judge the situation soberly. It is the question: "Where is all this leading to? How will it all end?"

Why is all available capital being pumped into the armaments industry, thus preventing the natural accumulation of capital? Why is the state plunging deeper and deeper into debt in order, by means of promissory notes, treasury bills, loans and a profoundly unsound financial policy, to inflate the armaments industry on a gigantic scale? Why does Hitler accept the growing economic difficulties, the growing discontent of the masses, the growing social tension—save for the fact that there must be no slowing down the speed of the war industry? Why does he triumphantly declare that "the Krupp Ordnance Works are once again quivering with the roar and hammer of the machines of the new German resurrection"? Why is it that Krupp, the classical armament firm, serves him as the symbol of this new resurrection? Why the demand for colonies? Why the deafening clamor against Bolshevism? Why the obstinate assertion that Czechoslovakia is threatening the security of the German Reich, and at the same time the significant statement in his proclamation:

> "I will not shrink from any measure capable of giving the nation not only the feeling of security but, above all, of giving ourselves the feeling of conviction that the independence of the Reich is guaranteed under all circumstances!"

What is the meaning of these words? Governments which want peace declare unambiguously:: "We will not attack any state, but we will defend ourselves against every attack." But when Hitler says that he *feels* the security of the Third Reich is being threatened by the Soviet Union, France and Czechoslovakia, this feeling is for him a cause for war!

Hitler's deputy, Rudolph Hess, in his speech to Germans abroad,

developed this thought. He indicated that if Germans abroad find themselves "in distress" Hitler's army will "take up their defense". This means that if Hitler wants a pretext for attacking Czechoslovakia or any other country, he has only to stir up trouble among the Germans resident there and to provoke clashes in order to start military intervention.

The *Voelkische Beobachter*, in its editorial of September 12, comments on this as follows: "The subsequent developments and decisions should therefore be clear." And Rosenberg in his speech, threatened:

> "We do not know what terrible conflicts the future may hold in store, but the great adjustments of our epoch have begun and will hardly be overcome by a democratic settlement."

Where does all this lead? How will it all end? There is only one answer to this question of the German people: All this is leading to war! All this will end in disaster!

Hitler wants war—that is the meaning of his proclamation, that is the aim of his policy. That is why the German people must suffer privation. That is why no rise in wages may retard the speed of war production. That is why the dictators in Nuremberg tried to drown the noise of the German people's throbbing heart.

Hitler wants war. The armament kings are already earning billions; they want to earn billions more. They are demanding colonies. They are demanding hegemony in Europe. They are demanding world domination. Hitler has secured them unrestricted mastery over the German people. There are no trade unions, no strike movements, no democratic rights of the workers. The share of the peasants, the handicraftsmen, the small businessmen and the small tradesmen in the national income is steadily declining; the increase of production benefits no one but the dictators of the war industry. Up till now this gang of robbers have been satisfied with Hitler. But at Nuremberg he was compelled to go further.

There has hitherto been a political division of labor: Schacht, and at times Goering, represented the unpopular measures of the war industry and acted as the blunt mouthpieces of the capitalists; the "radical" representatives of the petty bourgeoisie in the Nazi Party bleated against the capitalist "excesses" and argued with Schacht; and the Fuehrer remained silent. This silence in part explained his popularity; it enabled him to create the legend: "The Fuehrer knows nothing about it; the Fuehrer will one day arise and call a threatening 'halt!' to the capitalists." In view of the growing social tension, this political division of labor no longer suits the lords of the war industry. Hitler himself must now step into the breach: Hitler himself must stake his prestige in order to justify the oppression of the people and to combat the opposition. "The Fuehrer will one day arise"—was the hope of the masses. "The Fuehrer must arise in Nuremberg"—the lords of the war industry demanded. The Fuehrer did arise in Nuremberg and did call a threatening "Halt!"—not to the capitalists, but to the workers, the

working people. This and this alone is the meaning of his proclamation.

The German people is beginning to understand. The food shortage is willed by Hitler. The employers' attack on wages is willed by Hitler. The throttling war economy is willed by Hitler. Hitler wills all this because his will is for war.

But the German people's will is for peace.

Hitler answered all the questions of the German people with "No!" The German people must answer all the demands of Hitler with "No!"

Hitler is war. The fight against Hitler is the fight for peace.

To the Aid of the Spanish Fighters!

By MAURICE THOREZ

CONSIDERABLE sympathy exists among the working class of all countries for the Spanish Republic. It is a feeling which is shared by practically the whole international proletariat. However, we have not been able to make sufficient use of this spontaneous sympathy of the masses to force the leaders and organizations of the Social-Democratic Parties to develop practical support for republican Spain.

In France, England, Belgium—everywhere the Socialist leaders are eloquent in their protestations of sympathy for the Spanish people, but their policy in practice is one of so-called neutrality. They even indulged in a violent and slanderous attack on the Soviet Union with the aim of smashing the united front which seemed likely to be formed for the defense of the Spanish Republic. But our parties in the beginning adopted an attitude which was of a defensive rather than an offensive character, on questions connected with the defense of the Spanish Republic, at a time when there was, as there still is, a renewal of fascist support for the Spanish rebels, accompanied by an increase in the war danger, with fascism and Trotskyist terrorism making a general attack on Communism and the Soviet Union.

The campaign for effective assistance to the Spanish republican government is rendered easier, however, by an important fact. When Hitler carried out his act of provocation on March 7, by occupying the Rhineland, the Communists who denounced his action and pointed out the danger of war were met by the following objection: Hitler is in his own country, he is applying national sovereignty. But now, Hitler is arming the rebels in Spain; now, his navy is off the coasts of Spain; now he in intervening directly in Spain. All this can and must facilitate the struggle of the Communists against Hitlerism, the chief warmonger, and for the defense of the Spanish Republic, democracy and peace.

This enables the Communists to refute the contemptible argument of those who say that "the People's Front leads to civil war", by showing that, on the contrary, it is fascism which unleashes civil wars against the peoples, and provokes internecine wars.

I now wish to examine what our Party in France has done. We have tried to furnish material and practical aid, though this unfortunately has been very inadequate. We have above all developed a big agitational campaign for effective support of the Spanish Republic by the People's Front of France. We have said from the start: we are in agreement with a policy of non-intervention, knowing as we do that the Spanish people are capable of crushing the insurrection themselves provided the following points are adhered to: providing that the German and Italian fascists do not intervene, that a stop is put to the supply of armaments to the rebels by the fascists, and that the legitimate govern-

ment in Madrid is treated in accordance with international law, by being granted freedom of trade, and not having a virtual blockade imposed against it. Yet this is actually what has been done on the initiative of the French government. We have therefore denounced this pretended neutrality, which means solely that the fascists of Berlin and Rome and their minions in Portugal are given a free hand, while the republicans are deprived of all possibility of obtaining war supplies.

We made a public appeal to the Socialist Party and said: The 24 airplanes which arrived in Portugal for Franco must bring Communists and Socialists together to raise the following question with Blum, the Prime Minister. "This policy which is killing the Spanish Republic must be ended, the blockade must be lifted."

And the masses have responded to this with the slogan: "Airplanes and guns for Spain." We argued that this policy must be pursued not simply on behalf of the working class, of the sympathy of the working class for its proletarian brothers, and for the people engaged in the struggle against fascism, not only on behalf of the obvious interests of the People's Front in France, but on behalf of the interests of the whole of France, which is menaced with encirclement by Hitler fascism, in the East, Southeast, and South, with having its communications with North Africa cut, with Hitler and Mussolini coming to an agreement on joint control of the Mediterranean.

We organized over 300 big meetings with comrades from the Central Committee and Parliamentary deputies as speakers, not to mention the innumerable meetings with local speakers, and the participation in meetings with other organizations.

We have taken part in a series of monster meetings where tens and hundreds of thousands of people were present, particularly on two occasions at the Velodrôme d'Hiver, in the Buffalo Stadium and Garches. We proposed that a demonstration of sympathy be held outside the Spanish Embassy. In order to avoid creating difficulties within the People's Front, we agreed to a decision postponing the demonstration and to hold it at some other place. It took place subsequently in the Place de la Republique, and was organized by all the groups of the People's Front, but it took place exclusively under the following Communist slogans which were taken up by the mass of people: *Airplanes and guns for Spain; Freedom of trade; Lift the blockade; Neutrality does not mean cowardice*, and above all: *To action, Blum.* For the first time a big demonstration definitely assumed the character of a demonstration against the inertia of the government.

Three hundred thousand metal workers carried through a general one-hour strike: strikes were also carried through by the metal workers of Marseilles and Lyons.

As part of this campaign, we held a meeting of leading Party members on August 6, Huygens, to which the press was admitted.

A report was made on behalf of the Central Committee to a meeting of Communist workers and sympathizers in the Renault works. Our Parliamentary group spoke in the Chamber, at the Session of the

Left groups, not to mention the various delegations to the government from the Party, the mass organizations and the People's Front, etc.

Slogans and resolutions adopted at meetings—and what is very important—not only of Party groups, not only of joint Communist and Socialist meetings, but also of members of the trade unions, are in accordance with the line or approximate to the line of our Party. We have distributed a considerable number of popular pamphlets at two and four sous each. In ten days we sold 160,000 copies of the speech made by Thorez at Buffalo, and in three days—90,000 copies of his Boulogne speech. Comrade Andre Marty wrote a pamphlet on Spain which was sold out in a few days. All this has had its results, because it responded to the feelings of the great majority of the working class. But we have been less successful among the middle classes, who are willing to express their sympathy for republican Spain but are affected by the arguments or excuses of the government: "That might lead us to war."

How and on what front can we develop our campaign in aid of the Spanish Republic at the present time, when intervention is taking place?

1. By arousing and mobilizing the masses against every violation of the non-intervention agreement by the fascists who are arming the rebels.

2. By organizing a strict watch on the coasts and frontiers by the working class in collaboration with the trade unions, transport workers and port and dock workers.

3. By exposing every case of violation of the agreement, so that when such a case occurs action may be taken similar to that taken at Havre when the dockers refused to touch a Swedish ship which they suspected of transporting war supplies for the rebels.

4. By insisting that the German navy, which is blockading the Spanish Republic and ensuring food supplies to the rebels, be withdrawn from the coasts of Spain.

5. By demanding an international conference of all organizations and people inspired with the desire to defend the Spanish Republic, democracy and peace. By launching an appeal to the League of Nations, by flooding the offices of the League of Nations with protests from the working people against cases of violation of the non-intervention agreement.

6. By demanding the deportation of the traitors, consuls and ambassadors, and agents of the insurgents, who have betrayed the Spanish Republic. By demonstrating outside the consulates and embassies.

And I think from this angle our Communist Party of France, and the Communist Parties of Great Britain and Spain, with the Socialist Party of Spain, the United Party of Catalonia, and also the Socialist Party of France, should make a joint appeal to the Second International in the following spirit:

> "You are for non-intervention. You put your own interpretation on it. We have interpreted it differently. We see it as a struggle against fascist intervention. We would have wished the

democratic states to supply the Spanish Republic with arms in the shape of freedom of trade. You were not in agreement with this, but now we must not be duped, and the working class in each country must protest to its own government, to the League of Nations, against the repeated violations by the fascists of the obligations they have themselves undertaken, and they must say: *if we cannot prevent them*, then *let us supply the republican government with arms to suppress the rebels.* We cannot permit the defeat of Spanish democracy, which whould be the defeat of all democracies."

All Communists, all Socialists, all workers, all friends of peace, to the defense of the Spanish people, and the Spanish Republic!

The Anniversary of the Stakhanov Movement

By M. GOLDSTEIN

"The Stakhanov movement is a movement of working men and women which will go down in the history of our socialist construction as one of its most glorious pages."—STALIN.

I. THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND SOURCES OF THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT

STAKHANOV workers, who are introducing bold innovations in the mastering of technique, have scattered throughout Soviet soil wonderful seeds of Communism, which are already putting forth their shoots. The Stakhanov movement which, as Comrade Stalin expressed it, is destined to produce a revolution in socialist industry, has overthrown former ideas as to the old technical standards and old rated capacities. In agriculture the Stakhanov workers have taken the lead over the mass of collective farmers, and have succeeded in overcoming the unfavorable weather conditions of the present year and in securing a splendid harvest in many collective farms. Stakhanov workers on the railways and in the mighty Red Army, Stakhanov workers everywhere in the great, free land of socialism, its best people, are surrounded with glory, and with the love of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and of all sincere friends of the Soviet Union throughout the world.

A year ago, on the night of August 31, Alexei Stakhanov, a miner, went down the mine with two comrades as propmen and in one shift cut more than 102 tons of coal, while the "scientific" rate fixed for a coal cutter was seven tons, with an average productivity for a coal cutter in the Ruhr of three to four tons per shift.

As time went on, this first record was broken by Stakhanov himself and other coal miners. A certain Red sailor, a former coal miner from Gorlovka, and pupil of the famous miner Nikita Isotov, when home on leave for the October holidays went down the mine with nine of the best propmen, and in six hours cut 552 tons of coal with a Soviet coal-cutter.

The example given by Stakhanov gave rise to a tremendous wave of enthusiasm not only in the coal industry, but also in all branches of heavy and light industry, in railway transport, and throughout the national economy.

The work of the Stakhanov workers became a model for tens, and hundreds of thousands of workers.

Who does not know the name of Busygin, the smith, employed in

he Molotov Motor Works who instead of 575 crankshafts per shift eached an output of 1,657 per shift?

Who has not heard of Smetanin, employed in the boot and shoe ndustry, who stretches 2,500 pairs of shoes per shift, instead of 680? Who does not know the name of Krivonoss, the Young Communist engine river, who doubled the speed at which freight trains were ordinarily un? Who has not heard of the weavers Dusya and Maria Vinogradova, who tended first 144 automatic looms and then 216 instead of the usual 6 to 24?

The Stakhanov movement spread like wildfire through the country n the autumn of last year. Present at the First All-Union Conference f Stakhanov Workers, which was held between November 14 and 17, were 3,000 foremost Stakhanov workers, men and women, from all ranches of industry and railway transport.

More than 50 of those participating in this conference related how hey have achieved production records. At this conference Comrade talin made an historic speech which was most exhaustive in its com- leteness and clarity in laying bare the roots of the Stakhanov movement nd in showing its significance.

The characteristic feature of the Stakhanov movement is that it eveloped *from below*, "almost spontaneously" (Stalin) without any ort of pressure whatsoever from the managers of the factories and ines.

And this is natural. Millions of workers and collective farmers, d by the Communist Party day in and day out, are accumulating ex- erience in socialist construction, and as people vitally interested in ccelerating this construction and in improving the quality of output they re always ready to make their knowledge and ability available for the enefit of their socialist fatherland.

The Stakhanov movement came into being spontaneously, from elow, and that is why it is "the most vital and irresistible movement of he present day" (Stalin).

The rapid spread of the Stakhanov movement throughout the oviet Union is no chance occurrence. A study of the *roots* of the Stakha- ov movement will explain why the torch raised by Stakhanov and usygin proved sufficient to "start a conflagration" (Stalin).

What are the roots of the Stakhanov movement? In a remarkably hort period the Soviet Union became transformed from a backward ountry into an advanced industrial country, a country where agricul- ure is run on a larger scale than anywhere else in the world. The enin-Stalin policy of industrialization and of the socialist reconstruc- on of agriculture has triumphed in the Soviet Union.

> "The socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the annulment of private property in the implements and means of production, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man, constitute the economic foundation of the U.S.S.R."*

* Article 4 Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

In the main branches of industry the Soviet Union now occupies one of the first places in Europe. At the beginning of 1936 the relative weight of socialist forms of economy in respect to production resources in the main branches of industry stood at 98.5 per cent, with only 1.5 per cent in private hands. The collective farm system in the U.S.S.R. has triumphed. By the beginning of 1936 about 90 per cent of all peasant farms had joined collective farms.

In place of the twenty-odd million scattered peasant holdings, 249,000 collective farms have been formed with an area under crop of from 250 to 3,200 hectares* each. The collective farms have become a great and impregnable bulwark of the socialist state of workers and peasants.

The socialist state has devoted and continues to devote exceptional attention to the human being, his well-being, his happiness and dignity.

The continued improvement in the well-being of the working people is clearly shown in the rise of the national income; in 1930 the national income was 35,000,000,000 rubles while in 1935 it had grown to 65,-700,000,000 rubles. This improvement in the well-being of the workers is shown by the budget of the average working class family. Let us take as an example the budget of a group of families in the textile industry, where, as is well known, the average wage is lower than that in the heavy industry.

At the Trekhgorny Mill the income of a family averaged (60 working class families reviewed) in April, 1934, 274 rubles, in April, 1935, 448 rubles, in April, 1936, 563 rubles or more than double increase in two years.

Along with the rise in money wages the real wage of the worker has grown considerably by the strengthening of the Soviet ruble and the lowering of prices. In 1935, prices on the collective farm market, where collective farmers and individual farmers sell their produce, had fallen on the average by 25 to 30 per cent as compared with the year 1934. In trade carried on by the state, prices fell by 14 per cent in 1935. With the rise in wages and the fall in prices there has been a considerable increase in the consumption of goods by the workers. And their standard of living has risen.

This is one of the decisive conditions which gave rise to the new enthusiasm for work as expressed in the Stakhanov movement. *"Life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous. And when life is joyous, work goes well"* (Stalin).

The tremendous advances in the economic life of the country, the considerable improvement in the conditions of the working class, and the increasing prosperity of the collective farmers have been accompanied by successes in overcoming capitalist survivals in people's minds, in the forming of a new social consciousness, in a new socialist attitude to labor.

Labor in capitalist countries is not free labor—it is not held in high esteem. In the land of socialism, where there is no exploitation and unemployment, where people work not to enrich a handful of exploiters, but

* Hectare—2,471 acres.—*Ed.*

or themselves, for their own class, for their own country, labor is urrounded with glory. "Labor is a thing of glory, a thing of valor and eroism" (Stalin).

With what exceptional love, with what especial warmth the Stakha-ov workers speak of their socialist labor: through labor they have won new life, labor has opened their eyes and taught them to look at the hole world, themselves and their happiness in a new way.

The improvement in the material conditions of the working people, nd the absence of exploitation in the country constitute the decisive ondition for the rise of the Stakhanov movement. But this is not all. Were the U.S.S.R. without new technique, without new mills and fac-ories with the latest machinery, without new state farms and collective arms with their hundreds of thousands of tractors and tens of thousands f combine-harvesters, the Stakhanov movement could not have been orn, let alone spread so widely.

And finally, working men and women were needed to be able to take harge of machinery and advance it. "It is obvious that without such adres, without these new people, we would never have had a Stakhanov ovement" (Stalin).

A Stakhanov worker is one who breaks down established rates of roduction, who takes from machinery all that it can give, who organ-es his work in such a way as to attain the maximum productivity of abor. For people like Stakhanov, Krivonoss, Smetanin, Busygin to ap-ear, a long period of time had to be spent in training new forces, filled ot only with the urge for work and with enthusiasm, but also such as ad mastered modern machines, reaching maximum output and giving igh quality products. It should be remembered that before the Stakhanov ovement started in the U.S.S.R. the *otlichnik** movement had been idespread, *i.e.*, a movement of people who not only set out to fulfil and ore than fulfil existing standards but who strove for high and xcellent quality in their work.

The Stakhanov movement had four sources: (1) the radical im-rovement in the material conditions of the working class, (2) the fact hat they work, not for exploiters, but for themselves, for their own lass, (3) the fact that the latest machinery is available, and (4) forces ere available who had mastered technique.

II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT

The Stakhanov movement is the highest stage of socialist compe-ition. It opens up tremendous new prospects of increase in the pro-uctivity of labor, of an increase of abundance and prosperity for orkers and collective farmers.

The development of the Stakhanov movement in the past year has emonstrated the profound historical meaning of Comrade Stalin's ords, "that is, the Stakhanov movement, is destined to produce a revo-ution in our industry".

But this is not the entire significance of the Stakhanov movement.

* From the Russian word *otlichnik*—one who does something excellently—*Ed.*

Standing at the cradle of the popular movement a year ago, Comrade Stalin with the foresight of genius said that the Stakhanov movement "prepares the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism".

In the first stage of communism, in the conditions prevailing under socialism, there is still a contradiction between mental and physical labor arising from the fact that the level attained by the working class in relation to culture and technique is not a high one. In the first stage of communism, society has to distribute articles of consumption in accordance with labor expended, in view of the fact that under socialism there is not yet that abundance of products available as would make it possible to organize distribution according to needs. But with the further development of the Stakhanov movement the line of demarcation between mental and physical labor will be eliminated more and more, and the rise in the productivity of labor will ensure an abundance of products and the conditions will be created for accelerating the transition from socialism to communism.

In the Soviet Union the cultural level and technical knowledge of the workers are advancing to the level attained by technicians and engineers. Can the workers in capitalist countries dream of such a thing? Hundreds and thousands of Soviet workers, guided by Stalin's statement that "Cadres decide everything" and that "Bolsheviks must master technique", are improving their knowledge every day, and are becoming instructors of Stakhanov methods of work, are becoming foremen, technicians, and engineers, while remaining an organic section of the working class.

The Stakhanov movement gave rise to a tremendous urge among workers and collective farmers to improve their qualifications in production. Technical instruction on a mass scale, which is being conducted at the expense of *economic bodies*, embraces a huge number of workers of various trades not only in industry but in agriculture. In the present year about three million people in industry, transport and in the postal service are taking technical minimum courses, *i.e.*, courses of subjects with a definite program, not to mention the numerous short courses and circles covering general education and technical knowledge.

More than one million people will take various technical courses in the collective farm villages.

In the next two or three years there will not be a single worker in the U.S.S.R. who has not gone through a technical minimum course and has not passed a state technical examination.

The men and women in the factories and collective farms of the Soviet Union are not content with acquiring knowledge in the schools and circles held at their places of work. They are drawn towards the high schools, institutes and academies. To this end, the Soviet government provides all the conditions in the form of free education, free living quarters, state money grants, and cultural services.

In 1930 there were 191,000 students in the universities of the U.S.S.R., while in 1935 the number had reached 522,000. In the last five years about 300,000 young specialists have been trained. In the last

ve years, technical colleges have turned out about 600,000 young spe-alists.

The importance of the Stakhanov movement lies not only in the ct that it is being followed by a cultural and technical advance on the art of the workers and collective farmers, and leads to the abolition of e contradistinction between mental and physical labor, hastening on e process of the transition from socialism to communism. The Stakha-ov movement also demonstrates what tremendous possibilities lie dor-ant in the Soviet system, among the people of the Soviet Union. While pitalism oppresses and stifles the people's talents and only isolated dividuals achieve fame, in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, as in no her country in the world, all the conditions have been created for new lents to blossom forth as heroes of socialist construction.

At the beginning of 1918, after Soviet power had been in existence r a few months, with hunger and the civil war raging, V. I. Lenin rote:

> "Organizational talents in the 'people', among the workers and those peasants who do not exploit the labor of others, have, thousands of them, been suppressed, ruined, and thrown aside by capital. It is we who do not as yet know how to find, to encourage them, to put them on their feet, to promote them. But we will learn to do so if we set about studying it with all the revolutionary enthusiasm without which no victorious revolutions take place."*

Lenin's prophetic words have come true. What a number of really ented and gifted people have been produced by the peoples of the S.S.R. in recent years! Thousands of inventors, thousands of people inging forward rationalization proposals have in the past year come om the ranks of the Stakhanov workers.

Stakhanov workers do not keep their achievements secret. They do t delay in passing on all their experience, all their knowledge to other rkers.

In this connection, it is worth mentioning the experiment of the ganization of Stakhanov schools in factories. These schools, as distinct om technical minimum courses and other forms of workers' education signed to improve the cultural and technical knowledge of the workers, e organized by the Stakhanov workers themselves. The best shock-rkers in the given factory are gathered together in these schools, and the course of a few lessons, the best Stakhanov workers pass on their rking experience to them. At the Orjonikidze works in Moscow, the pils of a school led by a Stakhanov worker called Kudryashev raised eir productivity of labor by 40 to 50 per cent after two or three lessons. out 70 auxiliary schools were established in these works. At the aris Commune" factory in Moscow, the pupils of Gurabin, a Stakhanov rker, increased their labor productivity by from 70 to 90 per cent, and en up to 110 per cent (as in the case of a cutter by the name of ganova).

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, Russian ed.

The Stakhanov movement is assuming wide dimensions in the village too—in the state and collective farms which are now equipped with the latest agricultural machinery. There are about 400,000 tractors and 85,000 combines now in the state farms and the machine and tractor stations. The development of the Stakhanov movement in the village is accelerating the elimination of the age-old distinction between town and countryside. In this regard, a tremendously revolutionary role is being played by the "500" movement* of the collective farm beet growers (started by Maria Demchenko) to increase the beet harvests, and the movement among tractor drivers, combine operators, etc.

The Stakhanov movement is a mighty factor in increasing the cultural forces of the working class and the collective farm peasantry. In this struggle further to raise the productivity of social labor and the cultural and technical level of the working class and the collective farmers in the countryside, the land of victorious socialism has found the right road to a prosperous and happy life, to an abundance of products.

III. A YEAR OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT

Eleven years ago, at the Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Stalin, Lenin's great successor, put forward the task of changing the Soviet Union from a backward agrarian country into an industrial country. With all the persistence and passion inherent in him, Comrade Stalin combated the difficulties involved in solving this task. He was irreconcilable in his fight against all opposition and anti-Party trends, which sought to divert the Party from its course. Thanks to this he has led the country to the irrevocable victory of socialism. Stalin's policy of industrialization and of the collectivization of agriculture has won the day, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the class enemy.

On the basis of the first successes achieved in industrializing the country, in mastering the new technique, the volume of production in 1934 increased by 20.3 per cent as compared with 1933, while in 1935, thanks to the Stakhanov movement which had developed at the end of the year, output rose by 22 per cent, by comparison with 1934. Such rapid progress is impossible in capitalist economy. In the present year, 1936, when the Stakhanov movement has assumed large dimensions, the rate of increase is still more rapid. For eight months of 1936 the output of large-scale industry rose, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, by 35.5 per cent. The number of workers engaged in industry increased by 8.3 per cent, and the average monthly wage by 20.8 per cent. The productivity of labor rose by 26 per cent. *The task set by the Second Five-Year Plan, of raising the productivity of labor,* has been fulfilled in three and a half years.

At the beginning of this year, standards of output were revised, being raised somewhat. Conferences were called according to branches of industry, and there, with representatives of the workers and engineering

* The "500" movement derives its name from the fact that those participating in it undertake to produce a yield of not less than 500 centners of beets per acre.—*Ed.*

uffs present, all conditions were carefully weighed with a view to ablishing new standards of output, acceptable to the overwhelming ajority of workers at the present level of labor productivity.

It is a base slander for the enemies of Soviet power to assert that akhanov rates are rates which are being thrust upon *all* the workers. e Stakhanov workers, prior to and after the adoption of the new ndards, have been achieving a considerably higher productivity. The w standards of output are, in the main, between the standards for- rly in being and the standards achieved by Stakhanov workers.

The branch conferences of local industry raised the standards of tput by an average of 23.7 per cent. This might seem a considerable rease. Yet, thanks to the rise of the Stakhanov movement we see, example, that of a staff of 3,000 qualified workers employed in the terprises under the Moscow Press Trust, 74 per cent of the workers re than fulfil the new standards. At the Kharkov electric equipment rks, there were 1,963 Stakhanov workers when the higher standards re first introduced, and now there are 3,888. Of this number 72 akhanov workers give an output of more than 200 per cent of the ndard rate. At the Stalingrad Tractor Works, 75 per cent of the rkers are giving an output in excess of the new standards. Fifteen r cent of the workers are showing an output of 150 per cent of the ndard, and more.

While increasing the wages of the workers, the rise of the Stakhanov vement is assisting in the lowering of costs of production and in reasing the profits of factories which formerly received subsidies m the state. Thus, the production cost of a tractor at the Stalingrad actor Works is steadily decreasing. In September, 1935, it cost 3,158 bles and 75 kopeks to produce a tractor. In April it decreased to 52 rubles, and in May this year to 2,948 rubles. At the Makayevka n and Steel Works, in the Don Basin, where the average output per rker for the year June, 1935, to June, 1936, rose from 2.9 tons to tons per day, and where the average monthly wage in one of the ops rose in the corresponding period from 245 rubles to 350 rubles, a ofit of 28,571,000 rubles was made in the first eight months of 1936. r the month of August alone, the profits reached 5,660,000 rubles.

The Kramatorsk Engineering Works for the first eight months this year made a profit of 2,144,000 rubles, whereas for the corres- nding period of last year the works received a subsidy from the vernment amounting to 13,195,000 rubles. In August this year the amatorsk works made a profit of 486,000 rubles. As a result of the ock work of its Stakhanov workers, heavy industry is this year com- ting the Second Five-Year Plan in four years.

A struggle in industry has now developed for the improvement of e quality of products, a struggle against the production of spoiled ods. Here too the Stakhanov workers have taken the offensive and ll be victorious.

The initiative of the Stakhanov movement in industry was imme- tely taken up by the shock workers engaged on the railways. Under

the leadership of the People's Commissar, L. M. Kaganovich, one of Comrade Stalin's closest comrades, astonishing results have been achieved on the railways in a short space of time.

Transport, which for many years was a section of the national economy which lagged behind, has gone full steam ahead since 1935. In 1934, the average daily loading was 55,717 cars. In 1935, at the time when the All-Union Conference of Stakhanov Workers was opened 75,000 cars were loaded daily, and in August, 1936, the average daily loading was 90,200 cars. For eight months of 1936, the average daily loading was 86,600 cars, which is 34.1 per cent higher than last year's figure.

Alongside the increase in freightage, passenger traffic is improving from day to day, and there is an improvement in the attention paid to passengers.

The Stakhanov-Krivonoss workers employed on the railways have routed the conservative elements who with their theories of "outside limits" tried to prove that with the existing equipment, the railways could not load more than 56,000 cars per day, a figure put forward as the limit "scientifically established".

The Stakhanov workers on the railways are continuing to carry on a struggle to achieve the precise observation of schedules, the strict running of trains according to time-table, the final abolition of breakdowns and train wrecks, the observation of the new rules issued governing railway service, and to achieve cultured attention to passengers.

The tremendous achievements of the Stakhanov workers in the light and food industries are also very considerable. The Communist Party and the Soviet government are devoting special care and attention to people, to personnel, to the improvement of their daily lives, and therefore cannot fail to be deeply concerned to ensure that factories in light industry should produce more fabrics and footwear, and that the food industry should produce more meat products, butter, sugar, canned goods, confectionery, etc.

With the help of its Stakhanov workers, light industry for eight months of 1936 turned out nearly 5,000,000,000 rubles worth of goods, 37.6 per cent more than for the corresponding period in 1935. The food industry increased its gross output in the first eight months of this year by 35.4 per cent as compared with the corresponding period last year, the value of the total output amounting to the sum of 5,066,000,000 rubles.

While fascist Germany is undergoing difficulties as regards food and is limiting consumption by the people, the production and consumption of foodstuffs in the Soviet Union are growing from quarter to quarter, from month to month.

Here are the figures of the planned increase in consumption for the last quarter of this year: In the fourth quarter, October-December, the meat industry is to increase its output by two and a half times compared to the third quarter, while the sausage factories are to place 60 per cent more sausage products on the market than in the third

uarter of the present year. Twenty per cent more fish will be sold, 15 20 per cent more herring, 21 per cent more butter, 15 to 20 per cent ore vegetable oil, and four times more lard than in the corresponding eriod of last year. Fifty per cent more sugar than in the fourth quarter last year is available for sale.

These are dry figures but they represent Stakhanov labor, Stakhanov rnings, and an improvement in the well-being of all working people the Soviet Union.

A tremendous role is being played by Stakhanov workers in agri-ulture. The men and women working Stakhanov fashion in agriculture, ed by Stalin's slogan as to the need for producing seven or eight ousand million poods of grain within the next few years, are rallying l their forces and knowledge so as to solve this paramount task.

From year to year the work done per tractor, per harvester com ne, is growing. The yield from the Soviet fields is growing.

In the U.S.S.R. there are a number of territories and regions (the atar Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic, the Stalingrad Region, c.) where the average area worked per tractor is more than 500 ctares. Some tractor brigades have covered more than 2,000 hectares r tractor. For instance, the tractor brigades of the Korablinsk and e Mozhaisk Machine and Tractor Station in the Moscow Region have ready covered 2,260 hectares per tractor, and in a letter to Comrade alin have promised before the end of 1936 to work 2,500 hectares per actor. Pasha Kabadak of Azov-Black Sea Region, a girl tractor driver corated by the government, succeeded by September 22, 1936, in cover-g 2,450 hectares on a tractor made at the Chelyabinsk tractor works, ereby fulfilling the promise she had made to Comrade Stalin at the nference of leading harvesters and tractor drivers.

In 1935 an average of 259 hectares was harvested per combine, that somewhat over five times more than in 1932 and double the figure for 34. According to the planned estimates for 1936, an average of 350 ctares was to be harvested per combine. Individual combine operators e Palagutin (Saratov Region) harvested 2,000 hectares in the 1936 ason. It should be borne in mind that in the U.S.S.R. the combine has en used in agriculture for six or seven years in all, whereas in the S.A., where the combine has been used in agriculture for more than years, the area harvested per combine in the peak years before the sis was not more than 230 hectares.

Side by side with words like "*brigade*", "*discipline*", "*work-day*", ich were unknown to the old village, the words "Stakhanov worker" ve found their place in the collective farm vocabulary. The words takhanov worker" have become most popular words in the village.

Wherein lies the strength of the collective farm Stakhanov worker? An interesting reply to this question is provided by a girl Stakhanov et grower of the Volovsk District (Moscow Region) named Ustinya mofeyevna Savina.

The stimulus given to Savina and her Stakhanov initiative was ovided by Comrade Stalin's meeting with the "500-ers" and by the

record beet harvest gathered by Maria Demchenko in 1935. "As soon as I heard that Maria Demchenko had secured a yield of 500 centners of beets, I was immediately struck with the idea", said Comrade Savina, "that I could get a yield of 500 centners."

Savina's working group protected the young shoots from frosts with the diligence of true Bolsheviks. Hail stones leveled the beets to the ground so that they had to be sown again. The shoots had to be protected from insect pests. In spite of the fact that there was no rain between May and the middle of August, Savina's group watered the shoots by machinery and by hand regularly. To ensure that the earth would retain the moisture these girl Stakhanov workers of the beet fields covered the beets with dry earth.

"Now the agronomists have estimated that our work has resulted in a yield of 1,000 centners per hectare instead of 500 centners. You can imagine how grateful I am to Comrade Stalin" is how she finished her speech at the conference of Stakhanov beet growers, called together by the Moscow Committee of the C.P.S.U.

But it is not only a question of the persistence with which the Stakhanov workers approach the task set before them: "All of us in our working party have been accumulating knowledge since the winter." In the winter Savina attended classes on beet growing. In the summer she read special literature. She had a lot of work to do. She has four children but she found time to go to classes.

The explanation of the achievements made by the Stakhanov workers is not to be found in any special muscular exertions or physical strain as is maintained by the open enemies or the hypocritical friends of the Soviet Union. *It results from being qualified, from knowing one's job, mastering technique, from supreme fidelity to the cause of the Party, Soviet power, and to Comrade Stalin, the leader of the people.* These traits are inherent in Stakhanov workers in collective farms no less than in socialist industry. They are inherent in all honest working people in the Soviet Union. They constitute the style of the work of our epoch.

The Stakhanov workers are responding to the care for cadres, for people, displayed by the Party and Comrade Stalin, with real Bolshevik deeds. In view of the preparations for the All-Union Congress of Soviets (which is to open on November 25), where the new Stalin Constitution will be adopted after having been discussed by the whole nation, the Stakhanov workers employed in the socialist enterprises and on the fields of the Soviet Union are imbibing new strength so as to achieve new impressive victories for socialism.

The "Precedent" of the Dreyfus Case*

By G. VALETSKY

THE editors of *Populaire* were singularly unfortunate when they invoked the historic "precedent" of the Dreyfus case in one of their polemical articles directed against *l'Humanité* in order to justify their campaign in defense of the counter-revolutionary terrorist agents of the Gestapo.

The *Populaire* on August 29, 1936, wrote:

> "The condemnation of an accused man in France without the proper legal guarantees made somewhat of a stir 40 years ago, and it is not for us to teach our friends of *l'Humanité* anything about the position held by Jaures, founder of *l'Humanité*, in the campaign that arose from the Dreyfus case."

Populaire would like it to be believed that the tremendous struggle which shook France at the end of last century, and dominated her whole political life for several years had simply as its object the provision of "proper legal guarantees" for an accused man, and that this was the basis of *"the case"*.

What really were the struggles which took place in France at the time when a verdict of the War Council was given on an obscure captain by the name of Dreyfus?**

Let us refer, first of all, to the *Dictionnaire Socialiste* published by Compere-Morel. On page 227 we read the following regarding the Dreyfus case:

> "The verdict of the War Council divided France into two camps: *on one side, the republicans and freethinkers of all shades of opinion from the most moderate to the Socialist*—from Trarieux to Jaures, by way of Pressense, Zola and Clemenceau—*and on the other, from the palest to the most diehard reactionaries.*"

What was or should have been the attitude of the working class

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* Dreyfus was a French officer and a Jew found guilty in 1894 on a false charge of high treason (disclosing military secrets to Germany) and sentenced to life imprisonment. Dreyfus was condemned under pressure from the General Staff which was led by monarchists, clericals and anti-Semites, who were interested in screening the real culprits, officers from the most reactionary sections of French army circles, and also in dealing a blow at the republican regime which had given Jews the right to commissions in the army. Under pressure of public opinion, Dreyfus was pardoned and released in 1899.

** If you want, at the cost of reading 180 pages, *not* to learn what the Dreyfus case was about, I recommend Leon Blum's charming little volume, *Reminiscences of the Case* (Paris, 1935). There you will find investigations regarding "the mysterious residue of the Dreyfus Case" (p. 57) and subtle psychological considerations on the question as to why Rochefort did not become a supporter of Dreyfus while the "Jacobin" Clemenceau did. There you will be told that what determined the attitude of Jaures was his "chivalrous generosity, a kind of Don Quixotry" (p. 75) and above all you will learn—on the faith of Blum—that "if the Dreyfus Case took the form (!) of a political crisis, this was without the participation of the supporters of Dreyfus and almost without their knowledge" (p. 71).

and of socialism in this struggle which brought reaction and progress to grips in France? The "Manifesto" of the Socialist Parliamentary group of January 19, 1898, which contained among other signatures those of Guesde and Jaures, defined it as follows:

> "The brains of the *reaction* want to exploit the disorder of spirit now reigning to make anti-Semitism a means of diversion, *to subordinate the republic to the military power.* That is the immediate danger which is becoming more pressing day by day. Blind is he who does not see it! A traitor is he who does not denounce it!
>
> "Rise against your enemies, all your enemies! Do not let your ranks be divided by incomplete and contradictory slogans. Forward with your triple war-cry: *War on capitalism whether Christian or Jewish, war on clericalism, war on the military oligarchy!*" (*Dictionnaire Socialiste*, p. 229.)

Some time later, when certain divergences in tactics made their appearance among the Socialists, as to the participation of the Party in the "Dreyfus" campaign, Jaures in the following way gave the reason for the interest the proletariat had in taking a definite and active part in it:

> "Who then", he wrote, "is the most menaced today by the arbitrary action of the generals, by the violence—always glorified—of military repression? Who? The proletariat. It has an interest of the first water in chastising and countering the illegalities and the violence of the war council before they become a kind of habit accepted by everyone. It is interested to the highest degree in hastening the *moral discredit and the fall of this reactionary army which is ready to confound it tomorrow.*" (Quoted from Rappaport's *Jean Jaures*, Paris, 1925, pp. 41-42.)

The struggle of which the Dreyfus case was the occasion and the starting point, equally aroused the most lively interest outside France, in the ranks of international socialism. Franz Mehring, the brilliant German Marxist publicist, wrote in one of his weekly leaders in the review, *Neue Zeit*:

> "It is of prime interest to the working class that in the actual struggle, it should be republican bourgeois France which gains the victory over feudal, clerical and militarist France. And as this fight has taken the most acute form in the Dreyfus case, the proletariat has not been able to take the side of the criminal band of the General Staff, and against Dreyfus, innocent of the crime imputed to him. Neutrality is just as impossible for it would mean supporting in fact the most dangerous adversary. The difficulty for the Socialist Party was not only that it was not always easy to determine the limit to which it is possible to go with the bourgeoisie in joint defense of the bourgeois republic against its mortal and far worse enemies." (*Neue Zeit*, 1898-99, pp. 82-83.)

* * *

Lenin, the masterly strategist and tactician of the working class movement, who showed all his genius in analyzing complicated and original situations, returned more than once and on the most varied occasions to the lessons which spring from this episode in the political and social history of France. In the controversy which divided Guesde and Jaures on this question, Lenin, who in general supported Guesde, the Marxist, against Jaures, the eclectic, considered Jaures more in the right, holding Guesde to be sectarian. In a famous article, "Political Agitation and the Class Point of View" published in *Iskra* in 1902, he said:

> "Recall also what is said in the *Communist Manifesto* about the Communists supporting every revolutionary movement against the present system. [Lenin refers to the words of Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto:* "In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things."—G.V.] These words are often interpreted too narrowly and are not taken to imply support for the liberal opposition. It must not be forgotten, however, that periods come when every conflict with the government arising out of progressive public interests, no matter how small they may be, may under certain conditions (*and our support is one of these conditions*) flare up into a general conflagration. It is sufficient to recall the great public movement which grew up in Russia out of the conflict between the students and the government over academic demands, or the conflict that arose *in France between all the progressive elements and the militarists, over a trial in which the verdict was given on the basis of forged documents.*"* (My emphasis—G.V.)

In 1913, in the little town of Sabern, in Alsace, then Prussian, an incident took place which stirred up the whole population there and had repercussions in the Reichstag. To this incident Lenin devoted an article in the Bolshevik daily *Pravda,* which was then appearing legally in St. Petersburg. We quote a long extract from it not only because in this article too the Dreyfus case is invoked in a characteristic manner, but because it furnishes a particularly striking illustration of Lenin's method.

> " 'Cases' also occur in politics", said Lenin, "when the nature of a certain order of things comes to the surface with extraordinary force and clarity, all of a sudden, as it were, around a comparatively trivial occasion.
>
> "Sabern is a small township in Alsace. More than forty years ago Alsace was separated from France by the victorious Prussians. More than forty years ago the French population of Alsace and forcibly 'Germanized' and 'dragooned' by every kind of pressure into the royal-Prussian sergeant-major, official discipline called 'German culture'. And the Alsatians replied with their song of protest: 'You took our Alsace, our Lorraine,

* Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. IV, Book II, International Publishers, p. 85.

you can Germanize our fields, but you will never master our hearts—never.'

"And then a Prussian nobleman, a young officer named Forstener, brought matters to a head. He grossly insulted the Alsatian population. The German Purishkevitches had in the barracks indulged themselves in language of this sort, millions of times, and nothing had happened. The millionth and first time . . . something snapped!

"That which had been simmering through decades of oppression, fault-finding and insults, through decades of forced 'Prussification' burst to the surface. It was not French culture that had risen up against German culture—the *Dreyfus case once showed that brutal militarism capable of all kinds of savagery, barbarism, violence, crime, existed in France no less than in another country.* No, it was not French culture against German culture, but democracy schooled in a number of French revolutions which rose up against absolutism."* (My emphasis —G.V.)

The importance which Lenin attributed to the almost revolutionary excitement of wide strata of society in France which was provoked by the Dreyfus case is best of all expressed in the way he recalls it in December, 1920, in a passage in his report to the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Lenin, when he was speaking, had in his hands *l'Humanité* of October 26, 1920. He saw mentioned in it that at a public meeting in Paris, the workers had not allowed a speaker to be heard who wanted to attack Soviet Russia. The same issue also contained a declaration signed by 71 French intellectuals (Lenin said he had counted them), and headed by Anatole France, which was directed against intervention in Russia and against the blockade. He also found there a letter of Aulard, the historian, who while announcing his hostility to Bolshevism, declared that he had blushed on learning that the French government had proposed to the German government that they should participate in the blockade of Russia. In all this Lenin saw the first symptoms of a revival in public opinion in France, and Lenin continued:

"If we have achieved such results within France itself where every bourgeois newspaper writes of us only in the most mendaceous terms, we can say to ourselves that *a second Dreyfus case* is starting in France, only on a much larger scale. At that time the bourgeois intelligentsia fought clerical and military reaction; the working class of that time could not regard this as its cause. At that time there did not exist the objective conditions and the profound revolutionary sentiments which exist now." (My emphasis—G.V.)

And Lenin concluded:

". . . And I should like to see how, with such a situation within their states, Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson will carry out the plan for a new attack on Russia which they are meditating. Try it, gentlemen!"

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII, p. 99.

In actual fact, faced by the menace of a "second Dreyfus case" these gentlemen had to renounce the continuation of armed direct intervention in Russia and had to content themselves with subsidizing the counter-revolutionary enterprises of Denikin, Wrangel and Pilsudski.

* * *

From all the documents we have quoted, from Jaures to Lenin, it stands out that the Dreyfus case, if imprudently [note to the compositor: we write "imprudently", not "impudently"] invoked by the *Populaire* controversalist was something quite other than a simple demand for "legal guarantees" for a certain unknown person against whom charges were leveled.*

Actually, there are also in the world two opposing camps, two sides of a barricade. And among the existing democratic regimes which are exposed to attack by reaction, which has become fascism, there is one against which the fire is directed first and foremost, namely, the regime of proletarian democracy, the regime of the U.S.S.R. Lacking social strata with reactionary tendencies within the country on which it can find a foothold, fascism is forced to see only one means of fighting against this regime, namely, war.

It is preparing this war by sending spies and terrorists to the U.S.S.R. whom it recruits, among others, from the vilest traitors and renegades. It is preparing war "morally" by letting loose the most noisome and inept campaign of lies against this country. Whoever is associated with these campaigns without fearing promiscuity with fascism assists it in fact.

Those who, 40 years ago, defended Dreyfus, carried on a good fight for democracy and progress, fighting a reactionary regime. Those who at this moment defend the Zinovievs, Trotskys, counter-revolutionary assassins, criminal agents of Hitler, are assisting, whatever they may say, the horrible fight against the regime of proletarian democracy, are favoring fascism, and encouraging the fomentors of war.

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* Unfortunately, another trial, surrounded with all "legal guarantees", the trial of the *assassin of Jaures,* (March 24-29, 1919) who was *acquitted,* did not become the occasion of a huge popular movement. It would be useful to study this page in history and to submit to a critical analysis the tactics of the Socialist Party (before the split) and the trade union movement of the day.

Why the Disappointed Demagogue Turns to Fascism

By R. PAGE ARNOT

LLOYD GEORGE, the well-known British politician, has come out in support of Hitler following on his journey and his interview with the Fuehrer at the time of the Nuremberg Congress. Though both papers in which his views appeared criticized him editorially and though the remainder of the British press for the most part chose to ignore his utterances it would be a mistake to regard this as having no significance.

Their significance depends on the present position of British imperialism, particularly its foreign policy. The center of gravity of the foreign policy of British imperialism at the present moment lies in Europe, in its European policy.

One section of the ruling classes stands for support for France against Hitler but has misgivings as to the French Popular Front. Another section, of which Lord Londonderry was the spokesman, is out and out pro-Hitler; a third section balances between these. General agreement exists only on the policy of rearmament, in regard to which the National Government is now being offered the support of Bevin, Citrine and other reformist leaders.

The pro-Hitler section was formerly the most influential one, and is now more and more supported by the city and the bankers. But this policy is utterly repugnant to the mass of the British people and no one of the pro-Hitler section has been able to make it popular. A vacancy has thus appeared for a new role, namely, that of a pro-Hitlerite, capable by his propaganda, of penetrating among the masses. Here is where Lloyd George steps in.

He announces that there is a "New Germany". He maintains that in this Germany there is no longer any class struggle nor indeed any struggle of any kind. He asserts that this Germany does not threaten anyone.

Something else however attracted the attention of our traveler in this idyllic Germany.

> "I found everywhere [*i.e.*, among the leaders of Hitlerism—R.P.A.], he wrote, "a fierce and uncompromising hostility to Russian Bolshevism, coupled with a genuine admiration for the British people, with a profound desire for a better and friendlier understanding with them."

He actually defends the ravings at Nuremberg and has the effrontery to explain the Nuremberg speech and the claims of the Nazis to take the Ukraine as having nothing to do with warlike intentions and that it was merely "a taunt".

Finally, Lloyd George finds the following remarkable explanation the "recent outbursts against Russia" as being only

> ". . . the common form of diplomatic relationship between Communist Russia and the rest of the world on both sides."

It is nothing more than this, he says, and is not intended as a ovocation to war. Again and again he repeats "it does not mean war". The title of the article of Lloyd George is "I Talk to Hitler". It is re apparent that Hitler talked to him. The utterances of Lloyd George nd like a gramophone record of the familiar Nazi propaganda.

So, in fine, Lloyd George has become Hitler's mouthpiece for Britain. But he can only become this because Lloyd George long ago in tain has ceased to be the mouthpiece of any section of the people's mion.

To those who remember Lloyd George as the radical politician before war or as the successful War Minister of British imperialism, it may m strange to learn that Lloyd George has sunk so low in popular eem, has become so bankrupt that he is now making his last gambler's ow, staking his all on the Knave of Clubs. Yet the fact is that this -time leading figure of the Liberal Party, this war-time Prime nister, this all-powerful head of the Liberal-Tory coalition of 1918 1922 has lost his support in every political party. The working class es him, the Tories distrust him, the Liberal Party is split into two tions, neither of which includes Lloyd George.

In Parliament he sits as the chieftain of the Lloyd George Family rty, consisting of himself, his son, his son-in-law and his daughter. this ruthless, clever, wily, unscrupulous demagogue has reached the ition of a political outcast and like other well-known adventurers of war period, like Ludendorff or Millerand and others, he has steadily k in the general esteem. Recognizing this, he has now decided to ke his all, and to risk a desperate course.

Lenin already characterized Lloyd George with keen insight in 6, when he wrote:

> "A first-class bourgeois business man and master of political cunning, a popular orator, able to make any kind of speech, even r-r-revolutionary speeches before labor audiences, capable of securing fairly considerable sops for the obedient workers in the shape of social reforms (insurance, etc.)—Lloyd George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly. He serves it precisely *among* the workers, he transmits its influence precisely to the proletariat, where it is most necessary and most difficult morally to subjugate the masses."*

Notice that what was demagogy, flattery, lies and fraud before the , in a word Lloyd George-ism, now finds its easy affinity and historic elopment in this friendship with Hitler and Hitlerite fascism. But yd George has also been a practitioner of the other side of fascism, its brutal suppression of the exploited and oppressed, its bestial

* Lenin on Britain, p. 147.

cruelty, its politics of murder. It was Lloyd George who was responsible Prime Minister in the suppression of the Indian masses in 1919 to 1922 in the first great struggle for liberation, when hundreds were mowed down by machine-guns in the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh (Amritsar) and when the atrocity of the Mopleh death train horrified the world. He was directly and personally responsible for the Black and Tans in Ireland, the fascist gangs whose deeds of robbery, arson, rape and murder outdid the worst minions of Castlereagh* and set a model for the subsequent infamies of the Hitler Blackshirts. It was Lloyd George who was personally responsible for allowing the Irish rebel Terence McSweeney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, on hunger strike in an English dungeon, to starve to a lingering death.

Already at Versailles, in 1919, Lloyd George was outstanding in his fear of revolution. For him, it was a case of "Bolshevisme, voila l'ennemi"! He operated this standpoint through all vicissitudes of Anglo-Soviet trade agreements, enmities with France, Washington treaties, and the Genoa conference. Social insurance as introduced by him in 1911 was, as he himself has explained, not an insurance for the working class against sickness, etc., so much as an insurance for the bourgeoisie, insurance against revolution. Lenin, writing in 1920, quotes Lloyd George's speech of March 18, 1920, in which he said:

> ". . . . civilization is in danger. . . . This country is more top-heavy than any country in the world and if it begins to rock, the crash here for that reason will be greater than in any land."

On which Lenin comments:

> "The reader will see that Lloyd George is not only a clever man, but that he has also learned a great deal from the Marxists."**

Consistent only in one thing, in his hatred of revolution, this adventurer who has boxed the compass of politics rallied to the support of Hitler fascism, at a moment when all other English politicians were speaking against Hitler and Nazism. On September 22, 1933, Lloyd George declared in a speech at Barmouth:

> "If the Powers succeed in overthrowing Nazism in Germany, what would follow? Not a Conservative, Socialist or Liberal regime, but extreme Communism. Surely that could not be their objective. A Communist Germany would be infinitely more formidable than a Communist Russia."

And again in the House of Commons on November 28, 1934, when even the Tory press and politicians were voicing anti-Nazi sentiments following on the Roehm-Von Schleicher murders, Lloyd George said:

> "In a very short time, perhaps in a year or two, the Conservative elements in this country will be looking to Germany

* Lord Castlereagh, Chief British Administrator in Ireland, who brutally suppressed the Irish uprising of 1798.

** See Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder.*

as the bulwark against Communism in Europe. She is planted right in the center of Europe, and if Germany is seized by the Communists, Europe will follow; because the Germans could make a better job of it than any other country. Do not let us be in a hurry to condemn Germany. We shall be welcoming Germany as our friend."

And now, at a moment when the reformist leaders in Britain are ifying the Soviet Union and Communism so as to prevent a united nt in Britain, Lloyd George has chosen to come out with the utmost nness as the defender and mouthpiece of Hitler. For several years t, using his talents as orator, writer and matchless intriguer, Lloyd rge has sought to get back into power. If he cannot get one way, he people reject him, then he will find another way, he thinks.

It was not difficult for Lloyd George to admire Hitler. In 1920, it s being currently reported in England that Lloyd George kept voicing s sentiment "what this country want is a dictator, a Caesar". But s not only in foreign affairs that Lloyd George wishes to be allied h Hitler. In home affairs he goes in the same direction. In January, 5, his "new deal" program of unemployment and reconstruction s a bid for popular support. In this he failed. But it received a wel- e from fascist quarters. Lord Londonderry, then head of the Air ce, chief supporter of Hitler in the National Government, said:

"Mr. Lloyd George put forward a constructive plan, and I am glad to hear that the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to look carefully into it. . . ."

The *Daily Mail*, with its fascist proclivities, said:

"For all these proposals he will find abundant support. He is a great enterprise well begun, and his lead will be followed the more eagerly because he declares definitely against the wild gentry who would nationalize the joint stock banks or, in plain English, rob the community."

The *Blackshirt*, organ of Sir Oswald Mosley, called the speech first step on the road to fascist conclusions".

In the last two years Lloyd George has been writing a history of the of 1914-1918. Of this history he is the "hero". In it he appears as "revolutionary" (in the Nazi sense of the word), struggling against mpetent generals, politicians, traitors and vested interests. It is not prising that the author of this English version of *Mein Kampf* uld be a friend of Hitler.

If Lloyd George has cast himself for the role of Hitler's friend in present situation in Britain, it is of course not out of love for Lord donderry or Neville Chamberlain or Ramsay MacDonald or any r pro-Hitlerites, though he really serves their present purpose well. yd George is doing it for his own purpose. What are his calculations? is speculating on the love for peace that is widespread among the lish masses who hate war and who hate the aggressor. To the masses ays in effect, "the British people must have peace, neither the Na-

tional Government nor the Labor Party can guarantee peace. I am 'the man who won the war'. I am also the man who can win the peace. Trust me. I can make a friend of Hitler. Hitler is no aggressor. Trust me—in the *name of peace*".

But so far the masses have not been deceived. The vast majority of letters which poured into the *News Chronicle* attacked Lloyd George. One of them stated clearly that "Mr. Lloyd George wants British democracy united with German fascism against not the menace but the triumph of Marxism in the U.S.S.R.". Lloyd George's fellow Liberal, Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., gave him a sharp rebuff in the *Manchester Guardian*, and finally threatened a schism in the Liberal-pacifist organization called the Council of Action if Lloyd George is supported by any other Liberals or religious leaders.

The result was immediate. Lloyd George was forced to publish a rejoiner to his critics in which he claimed that his only or main object had been to arouse the democracy of Britain to deal with unemployment, ill health and bad conditions as effectively as had been done in Soviet Russia, or (!) as had been done, as he, Lloyd George, asserts, in Hitler Germany. Thus in his reply he falls back on the attempt to confuse the masses by bracketing the U.S.S.R. with the bestialities of Hitler fascism, and by representing himself as consumed with love for democracy.

The last attempt of this disappointed demagogue, Lloyd George, to stage a comeback may end in his final extinction as a political figure —but only if the attack is pushed home by every one of those who are against the menace of war and the danger of fascism.

Since this was written, Lloyd George has suddenly (in an interview in "Reynolds", October 4, 1936) announced himself as a supporter of a Popular Front in Britain.

But this maneuver has only to be closely examined for its disgusting fascist features to be exposed. He retracts nothing of his praise of Hitler fascism. He makes no mention of the existence of the Communists, even when quoting the example of the People's Front in France, cunningly passing over the Communists. He says that England needs a "Social ideal", like Hitler's.

He abuses the Labor and Liberal Parties, and calls on the discontented masses to rally around himself, Lloyd George, as the Fuehrer of a "Popular Front".

In a word, he wants to drag fascism into England behind the popular sign of the "People's Front".

We may remind the old demagogue of an episode in English history, when Charles II, warned by his universally detested brother and heir to the throne of a treasonable conspiracy, replied, wittily enough, "James, James, they will never kill me to make you King"! The masses of Britain may be discontented with the present leadership of the Labor Party, but they will never throw it over to make Lloyd George their Fuehrer.

The British Trade Union Congress

By R. P. A.

THE British Trade Union Congress, which met in Plymouth in the second week of September, was concerned with three main questions, overshadowing all others. These questions were Spain, unity and the unemployed. On all three the reformist leadership (Bevin, Citrine, etc.), scored a measure of success, but under such circumstances as may easily consider that success negatory.

To understand these circumstances it is necessary to recall the fact that nine months ago the reformist leadership were not only the chief obstacle to working class unity internationally, but inside Britain regarded their policy against unity as secure and unchallenged. The campaign of the Communist Party for affiliation to the Labor Party, in furtherance of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress, they regarded with contempt. They formally rejected the application and maintained a lofty silence, disdaining to engage in controversy.

But as the campaign for affiliation developed, as more and more working class organizations supported the Communists, they changed from aloofness to chagrin. When the victories of the Popular Front in Spain and in France, followed by the enormous gains of the French working class won by great strikes and through a unified trade union movement, gave an enormous impetus to the movement for unity in Britain, the chagrin of the reformist leaders changed to alarm.

And they had something about which to be alarmed, namely: the workers in the British factories were eagerly discussing and saying: "What they have done in France, we could do in Britain". Among the British intellectuals and radical lower middle class there began to be discussions of the Popular Front, and not only trade unions but the socialist societies, the most active ideologically of the constituent parts of the Labor Party, became partisans of unity, while even the Fabian Society, for well-nigh thirty years the chief ideological guide of the Labor movement, decided to support Communist affiliation.

In reply to this, the reformist leaders in the middle of June launched a most vicious counter-campaign against unity, employing all the resources of their speakers, press and other publications. The attack on unity was twofold. In the first place they attacked the Communist Party of Great Britain, raking up all the familiar fascist arguments about "Moscow gold", etc. In the second place they delivered a frontal attack on the Soviet Union whose prestige and popularity among the masses of Britain they felt to be dangerous to their own policy. The new Soviet Constitution was first attacked. Then, Sir Walter Citrine's book against the U.S.S.R. was published. Then the blackest portions of this book were reprinted as a series of articles in the *Daily Herald* which from that time until now has conducted an unceasing campaign against

the U.S.S.R. But with all this the reformist leaders were unable to prevent the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (half a million members) from supporting Communist affiliation.

The fascist rebellion in Spain caused a further change.

The reactionary press were against giving help to the people of Spain. The Liberal, Labor and Communist press supported the Spanish people. The masses of Britain began to be aroused.

The reformist leaders of the trade unions (Bevin, Citrine, etc.), at the beginning compelled to pronounce themselves for Spain and to open a fund, now beheld with dismay the current for unity rapidly becoming a tide.

The events developing in Spain sharpened more and more the mood of the class struggle, to the detriment of their policy of class collaboration. Unless they could break the rapidly growing front for unity, nationally and internationally, their policy was doomed to defeat. So far they had been able to maintain as regards Spain, the standpoint of "neutrality". But that might not last. To achieve their ends, they must come out still more openly. The notorious telegram defending the Trotsky-Zinoviev Terrorist Center was dispatched by Citrine, de Brouckere, Schevenels and Adler. Together with the whole bourgeois press, the reformist leaders solidarized themselves with the fascist attack on the U.S.S.R.

These were the circumstances in which the Trade Union Congress met at Plymouth. In their policy of "neutrality" as regards Spain, *i.e.*, a policy of support for the line of the British Foreign Office, Bevin and Citrine were able to win support for the National Council of Labor.

They were only able to do this by the use of unscrupulous demagogy, by presenting the matter in such terms as made it seem a condemnation of the National Government, by pleading that any other decision would mean the downfall of the Blum government (!), by making false statements against the British Communist Party and the French Communist Party by suggesting that to give the Spanish government assistance would immediately unloose a European war.

In spite of all this, there were big oppositional minorities inside the industrial delegations, especially the miners; and the railwaymen finally withheld their vote. Even so, Herbert Morrison, the reformist leader of the London Labor Party, has gone so far as to break the discipline of the Labor Party, saying on September 5:

> "I cannot reconcile myself to this 'neutrality' business. It is so unjust, so unfair to a people heroically fighting against heavy and cruel odds."

Morrison would not, of course, do this unless he felt he had the support of a large minority of delegates which, depending on the further development of the Spanish events, might turn into a majority at the Labor Party Conference.

At Sheffield on September 13, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Labor ex-Minister, said:

"I regard it at this moment as a disaster that the Labor movement should have fallen into the trap of feebleness prepared by the British government."

That this statement more truly represents the mass of the British rkers than the T.U.C. decisions is also shown by the tremendous monstrations held by the Communist Party in London on September and 20. On September 6, £700, the largest open-air collection ever ken in Britain in working class history, was raised for the Spanish ople; and the London correspondent of the Swedish Social-Democratic per, *Arbetet* (Malmo), who has no reason to favor the Communists, ites on September 16:

"At the moment it seems almost as if the British Communist Party had seized the initiative when it was a question of giving expression to the deep unrest in Liberal circles and in the Labor movement in Great Britain over the policy of non-interference in Spain. . . . The initiative, which the Communist Party appeared to have seized in this business, is now beginning to produce considerable discomfort in the organized Labor movement of Great Britain. . . ."

In the week preceding the Congress the *Daily Herald*, organ of vin and Citrine, had outdone the fascist *Daily Mail* in its dissemination lies with regard to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless it was sufficient defeat the proposal, sponsored by the Amalgamated Engineering ion and other important unions, to send an official delegation to the viet Union. On the other hand, the general resolution for international de union unity was carried without opposition, since at the London ennial Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions July, a similar resolution had already been carried. But Sir Walter rine immediately after the T.U.C. chose to interpret these resolutions enabling him first of all to approach the American Federation of bor.

On unemployment, the proposal was brought forward for a hunger rch on London, for a boycott of the coronation festivities and a one- industrial strike. In successfully opposing this Sir Walter Citrine d arguments—"against industrial and other action" which might l have been voiced by Baldwin. But then, it has to be remembered t, as in medieval times, a knight bears special allegiance to his liege d and must do extraordinary deeds—or find extraordinary arguments, in this case.

On immediate economic issues, the reformist leaders offered no osition, or even supported the resolutions brought forward. Resolus were carried demanding a 40-hour week, holidays with pay, and all-inclusive scheme of social insurance. To press these through in e of any sabotage by the leaders now becomes a task of militant kers in Britain.

The passage of these resolutions reveals very clearly the cunning ics adopted by the refo- - (with what help from even more

skilled tacticians of class struggle in Downing Street or the City must remain unknown).

While giving ground on the immediate economic demands that stir the working class, they chose the issues of "foreign policy", that lay outside the daily life of the delegates.

They laid their plans well in advance; first by their campaign of mud-slinging against the U.S.S.R., and secondly by giving great publicity to the preparatory resolutions of the National Council of Labor, framed to make a pro-Baldwin policy appear as a heavy attack on Baldwin.

Sir Walter Citrine has little to learn in the art of demagogy from Lloyd George or Lloyd George's friend, the Nazis.

Nevertheless, the situation does not permit the reformists to rest secure for another year. That they understand this is clear from the choice of Bevin (the power behind the throne of Citrine) as the new chairman of the Trades Union Congress.

There are such meetings now in Britain as never before in aid of the masses of another country. The tide of popular feeling has not been stemmed by the decisions of the Trades Union Congress. The campaign for unity in the fight against war and fascism is gathering strength among the masses, as one after another the false statements of the T.U.C. leaders are exposed, as the example of the Soviet Union inspires the peoples of Britain; as the need for action grows manifestly more urgent every day. While the reformists who supported the National Government on Ethiopia last year, and now on Spain, are turning to support it on armaments, the revolt of the masses will grow greater. The Citrine "victory" of the T.U.C. may well begin a differentiation between those who feel the pressure of big business and those who feel the pressure of big masses.

The Elections in Lodz

By YAN DOLYA

THE results of the municipal elections in Lodz, the big textile center, were an undoubted victory for the policy of working class unity. The united candidatures of the "P.P.S. and the class trade unions" received 95,000 votes and gained 34 seats, which, together with the six seats held by the Jewish Bund, make a total of 40 working class seats out of 72, *i.e.*, a clear majority of seats. The significance of this victory becomes still clearer if we remember that in the municipal elections of 1934, the fascist and reactionary parties obtained 49 seats, of which 30 belonged to the followers of Pilsudski and 39 to the National Democrats. The P.P.S., together with the Bund and the German Social-Democrats, then received only seven seats. The anti-fascist list, supported by the Communists, obtained 44,000 votes, but was annulled by the authorities. The remaining seats were gained by the Jewish and German bourgeois reactionary parties.

All the political parties, and also the government looked on the Lodz elections as a trial of strength in a certain measure, as a test of the class and political changes taking place in the recent period, rich as it has been in political events and class conflicts.

The Pilsudski camp did not enter the elections with a united list of candidates. It was represented by seven distinct lists which competed against each other. All these candidates secured only 17,000 votes, and not a single one of them obtained a seat.

Why was it, then, that the government, which could foresee a defeat, permitted this "trial of strength", these unfettered elections?

The reply to this question is to be sought in the very condition of the Pilsudski camp, which is torn with internal squabbles, and in the position of the government itself.

The line of speeding up the pace of further fascization, of firmly establishing a totalitarian system in Poland, as conducted after the death of Pilsudski by his political adjutant Slawek, and by the "group of colonels", led to an extraordinary intensification of contradictions, led to their being scandalously compromised, as shown in the results of last year's elections to the Sejm, which were boycotted by the majority of voters. The economic policy of the "colonels" based on deflation, and on the maintenance of the exchange rate of the zloty by means of "economy", enhanced the general poverty. No way out of the long drawn-out depression could be seen. The Slawek government gave place to the Koscialkowski government, which continued the economic policy of Slawek and tried to save itself by spreading the illusion of an approaching "alliance with society" and the toning down of the regime. A heavy blow was struck at these illusions by the bloody events in Cracow and Lwov. The squabbling in the camp of the Pilsudskyites and the bourgeoisie, who were terror-stricken at the movement of the working people, increased. Koscialkowski was replaced by General Slawoi-Skladkowski, who was intended to combine the policy of the "firm hand" with new

demagogic maneuvers in the sphere of economic policy. But the line taken by the government for hidden inflation, for increased interference by the government in industry and in the economic life of the country as a whole, the spread of rumors about agrarian reform and more intense industrialization alleged to be in preparation, sharpened relations with the landowners in the government camp. The measures taken in the sphere of currency aroused the dissatisfaction of some of the industrialists. The conservative landowners openly began to talk of the need for widening the basis of the government by means of a compromise with the Peasant Party and with the kulak leader Witos now living abroad.

In such a situation it became necessary to strengthen the government with the authority of the army and especially of General Ridz-Smigly, creating for him the halo of a new dictator, as the successor of Pilsudski. Ridz-Smigly advanced the "unifying" slogan of the "Defense of Poland", and of the need to strengthen its defenses and rumors were once again spread about all social forces being drawn into cooperation on the basis of these slogans.

The main efforts were directed toward drawing in the masses of peasants, who represent an ever more active and menacing force. Whereas the conservative wing of fascism recommended that Witos be "brought to heel", the military fascist leaders preferred to try to draw the peasants and their organizations away from Witos. It was precisely with this end in view that the question of the agrarian reform was brought forward. A period of new hopes and illusions set in.

In these circumstances, the ruling fascist clique decided to resort to a democratic gesture, to scare the bourgeoisie by demonstrating the menace of revolution, and at the same time to intimidate some sections of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie with the anti-Semitic, pogrom and adventurist antics of their bourgeois rivals, the National Democrats.

The fascist press is now, after the elections, trying to belittle their significance, to depict the government as an "impartial observer", as a national force standing above parties, and as the only force capable of facing up to the growing class and party struggle.

While working class unity undoubtedly secured a great victory, as shown in particular in the winning of 20,000 votes and 12 seats from the National Democrats, it must be emphasized that the 76,000 votes received by the National Democrats in proletarian Lodz point to the existence of a serious danger as far as concerns the revolutionary movement, the danger of the working class movement being demoralized by fascist, anti-Semitic, reactionary ideology. It is true that the trump card of the National Democrats was their entrance into the elections as a party in opposition to the present regime, as a party bearing no responsibility for the home and foreign policy of the regime. Nevertheless, the arguments of Hitlerism predominated in the agitation of the National Democrats.

There has been a serious change in foreign policy in recent years.

There was a time when the National Democrats, in a certain sense, represented a force acting against the adventurist war policy of Pilsudski. Their leader Dmowski wrote articles against the "hucksters of

war". At the present day, on a number of urgent questions of international policy, the National Democrats occupy the position of the warmongers. They are carrying on a frantic campaign of calumny against the Spanish people engaged in the fight against the fascist rebels, they supported the imperialist war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia, they are carrying on a campaign against the French government and especially against the People's Front in France, and are conducting an unceasing campaign of slander against the Soviet Union.

The main feature that characterized National Democracy traditionally was its anti-German leanings. But, on borrowing from Hitler his program and methods, National Democracy considerably softened down its anti-German line in the sphere of foreign policy. It does not agree in full with Beck's policy, but in practice it assists this policy, weakening the struggle of the masses against the danger of Hitlerism and German imperialism, and inciting the masses against the bulwark of peace—the Soviet Union.

All this, in spite of the struggle continuing between the National Democrats and the Pilsudski camp, renders the former a stronghold of extreme reaction and fascism.

National Democracy has the backing of considerable masses of the backward and desperate petty bourgeoisie who are dissatisfied with the government's policy, by cleverly making use of their national prejudices and the struggle of the small business men for the scanty home market. It has a following also among those workers who are backward and of a nationalistic frame of mind, by the use it makes of nationalistic and social demagogy, and by cleverly playing on their religious feelings National Democracy is succeeding in making use of religious feelings all the more because the Communists pay very little attention to these feelings and prejudices, and do not know how to show the working people that religious feelings should not hinder a joint struggle for the vital interests of the working people.

In general it would be a profound error if, in view of the plainly fascist character of the leaders of the National Democrats and of this party as a whole, we were to give up work aimed at drawing in the rank and file and even entire local branches of them into the united struggle for the direct interests of the working people and even into the anti-fascist struggle.

The victory of the policy of working class unity in Lodz acquires particularly great importance because it has taken place at a moment when the opponents of the united front and the People's Front—among whom are the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, and those directly hostile to these fronts, the government and the bourgeoisie—are raising barriers and obstacles to prevent their coming into being.

In Poland, in spite of the constant and stubborn efforts of the Communists, and in spite of the fact that very wide masses of working people in Poland have deeply absorbed the idea of unity, the united front and the People's Front are still far from having been brought to existence. The idea of unity has won the support of many of the active people, and of local and even national leaders in the peasants' and workers' parties, and has roused an echo in their organizations.

The united front of the working class is being hammered out and to some extent operated in the big actions of the proletariat of Lodz, Warsaw, Cracow and Lvov. The active participation of the workers and their parties in the mass actions undertaken by the peasants is creating the basis for the development of the People's Front in Poland.

The united front and the People's Front, brought into being even in these narrow limits, and from case to case, are calling forth rage and terror among the bourgeoisie, the landlords and the fascists.

The words "People's Front and "united front" are never absent nowadays from the pages of the reactionary fascist press, which has, once and for all, attached the label "Communism" to these slogans. By thus labeling these slogans, this press is trying to scare all backward and wavering people, and to outlaw every supporter of unity, every anti-fascist, every supporter of peace and liberty.

Whether it is the peasants of Chrubczow acting in defense of their arrested comrades, whether it is the peasants of Galicia (Kszeszowitze) on strike and fighting against strikebreakers and the police who surround them, whether it is a mass campaign that is developing in support of the International Peace Congress—all this, howls the fascist press, is the work of "Communist cells" in the Peasant Party, the hand of the Communists and the People's Front. Fascism needs this in order to be able to resort to repression, to the use of armed force and terror. Mass arrests, deportations and imprisonment in concentration camps are being carried out in respect to members and functionaries of th Peasant and Socialist Parties—against all who show themselves to be supporters of the united front or the People's Front. Raids are made on the editorial offices of Socialist and peasants' newspapers which are in any way suspected of sympathizing with the People's Front, an many papers have been closed down.

During the elections in Lodz, the National Democrats and the whole of the fascist press also tried to scare the voters with statements that behind the workers' candidates in Lodz stood an alliance with the "direct enemies of the states". What followed, however, was that the majority of the voters in Lodz voted for these very candidates.

But in addition to the obstacles that the bourgeoisie is trying to create with the aid of terror and intimidation, there are barriers in the path of the development of the united front and the People's Front in Poland raised by the enemies of these fronts, in the leadership of the Socialist Parties and Peasant Party.

These leaders, most of them reactionary, continue to put their stake on a change of the regime "from above". They are waiting for an invitation from the new dictator to negotiate and come to terms. A bottom, they do not want a mass struggle; they are afraid of struggle. They do not want the Socialist workers in the course of struggle to draw close to the Communist workers, and are afraid of this.

It was at the very time following on the bloody events in Cracow and Lvov, following on the change of government and the appearance of Ridz-Smigly on the political arena, that the leading group of reactionary leaders, at the beginning of May this year, carried a decision through in the Central Committee of the P.P.S. against the united front

with the Communists, giving as their reason "considerations of practice and principle". Still earlier a similar decision was arrived at by the leaders of the Peasant Party.

In respect to the Communists, the leaders of the P.P.S. only recognize the "non-aggression pact". But how do they understand this pact? Not a day passes without the most unceremonious and slanderous attacks being made in the Socialist press on the Communists, as well as deliberate distortion of their position and their proposals, and depicting the Communists as enemies of the Polish people, as foreign agents, etc. These attacks have particularly increased lately. The leaders of the P.P.S. have openly taken up a stand in defense of the foul fascist-Trotskyist assassins, agents of the Gestapo, who were brought before the proletarian court, and have opened up a ferocious campaign against the Soviet Union.

This opposition to the united front and the People's Front, which hinders their being brought into existence, is at the same time a sign of the growing urge towards unity among the masses. The Communists, who are striving to rally all anti-fascist forces into a united and definitely organized camp, into a single fighting force, support every movement, every partial bloc directed against fascist oppression, against the fascist policy of war.

It must be stated that the fact that the obstacles created by the opponents of the united front and the People's Front still attain their object, and that the arguments of these opponents still meet with some success among workers and peasants, is due in part to our weakness, the weakness of the Communists. Our ranks, all sections of our organizations are still insufficiently filled with an understanding of the policy of unity, of the need to bring it about at all costs. Manifestations of sectarianism, an inability to approach the worker who supports another party in a comradely manner, taking account of all his prejudices and hesitations, and to convince him of the need for unity, are still to be found in the practical activities of individual Communists.

We have not yet succeeded to a sufficient degree in convincing the widest masses of working people that the Communists genuinely and without any hidden intentions want a joint struggle for the rights and vital demands of the working people. We do not, in particular, fight with sufficient conviction against the slanderous attempts made to depict us as enemies of the independence of Poland, as people indifferent to the liberty, future and prosperity of the Polish nation.

No difficulties must weaken our efforts to convince the waverers or even direct opponents of the united front and the People's Front. If joint action is really carried through, in the most varied and accessible forms, and the Communists take an active part in the mass campaigns conducted by other parties under the slogans of the defense of the interests of the people and the defense of unity, this will convince the masses that we are correct and sincere. In spite of the ferocious campaign carried on by the opponents of unity, the working class of Lodz brought about unity of action, and on this basis gained victory. The Lodz elections are a big step forward, and big argument in the further struggle to bring about the united front.

Organizational Problems of the Communist Party of France

By M. GITTON

THE Communist Party has become the biggest of all the organized political parties of France. Its membership is more than 250,000.

From January, 1935, to July, 1936, the total daily sale of *l'Humanite* rose from 156,255 copies to 271,200 copies.

But still more cheering is the fact that the rapid growth of our Party is accompanied by a general increase of the organized forces of the working class. The Socialist Party, with which we are linked by a unity of action pact, is also growing, its membership having reached 170,000.

The restoration of trade union unity, and the victory which crowned the great strike movement of June of this year, have made the Confederation Generale du Travail (C.G.T.) with five million members, the biggest trade union organization in the I.F.T.U. The Metal Workers' Federation has 800,000 members, while the Paris District Trades Council (Federation of Trade Unions) covers 1,000,000 trade unionists.

The membership of the I.L.D. in France rose from 60,000 in 1935, to 135,837 on July 1, 1936. The membership of the Friends of the Soviet Union, which in January, 1935, was 17,000, is nearly 60,000 today.

The increase in the organized strength of the working class is the fruit of the Communist Party's tireless activity in struggle for working class unity, and for the unity of the people in France against the "200 families", the representatives of the finance oligarchy, who have seized control of the nation's wealth.

"*Unity Is Strength.*" We have made this popular proverb the guiding principle of our policy. Unity for the defense of the workers' bread. Unity to safeguard democratic liberties. Unity against the warmongers and to maintain the peace of the world.

Thanks to our tenacity in pursuing this line, the Communist Party has overcome all the numerous and varied difficulties that have piled up in our path. We have brought into being unity of action with our Socialist brothers, and have established the People's Front, in which there are gathered Communists, Socialists, trade unionists, democrats and republicans of different shades.

The working class, the masses of the people, appreciate our Party's action, and for an ever growing number of people we have become the compass, the hope and the future.

We are becoming the Party of the people who want, along with us, to make France a free, strong and happy country.

These are the reasons for our development and for the general growth of the organized forces of the working class.

THE GROWTH OF THE PARTY'S MEMBERSHIP

To get an idea of the way the Party has grown, it will be enough to give two comparative figures: at the end of May, 1936, 125,000 Party cards had been sent to the districts, while by August 14, 1936, we had sent 233,259 cards to the districts. Has the growth been of an equal character in all districts? Of course not. And it is precisely this side of the question which is occupying the attention of the Central Committee. More than one-third of the membership of the Party (actually 84,000 members) are concentrated in the Paris district. This testifies to the splendid confidence of the working people of Paris in us, and we know the decisive role played by Paris in the life of the country and in determining its fate.

But we would like to see a still more rapid growth in the strength of the Party in the provinces, considerable though it already is. In other words, we would like our organizations to make more rapid headway among the peasants, and middle classes, so that the provinces could respond to the capital.

The Paris city organization had 27,163 members on August 14, 1936. The West Paris region, which covers such important industrial centers as Boulogne-Billancourt, where there are the great Renault, Puteaux, and Courbevois works, etc., had 21,301 members, while the South Paris region had 15,803, and East Paris 13,000 on the same date. The North Paris region, which includes Saint Denis, the district of the exploits of the renegade and friend of Hitler, Doriot, and the town of Aubervilliers, of which M. Pierre Laval is the Mayor against the will of the people, has 7,000 Communist Party members.

Our advance is also very definite in all the important industrial centers of the country.

In the Eastern Region, the citadel of the powerful Comite des Forges (Committee of Heavy Industry) which up to now has kept under its thumb a mass of poverty-stricken working people, we have advanced from 845 members in 1935 to 4,035 on July 31, 1936.

In the Basse-Seine, with the ports of Rouen and Le Havre, and where there are the textile, metal and chemical industries, we had 4,700 members on July 31 this year, as compared to 1,175 at the end of 1935.

A considerable advance is also to be observed in many peasant districts.

For example, in the districts of L'Aisne and La Marne we have increased from 454 in 1934 to 1,100 in 1935 and 2,950 on July 31, 1936.

In L'Aude and L'Herault, where vinegrowing is the chief industry the figures on the dates mentioned were respectively 706, 1,150 and 3,800.

In Brittany, in the department of the Côte-du-Nord, where our Comrade Marcel Cachin was born, and which up till now, as far as organization is concerned, practically did not exist, we have now 1,500 devoted Party members.

The data we have given are sufficiently expressive. The C.C. is now

devoting special attention to the situation in districts where there has not been the necessary progress in the growth of the Party.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY

The recruiting of new members is being carried on among all sections of the working population; at the same time the position of the Party is being strengthened among the proletariat.

The strike movement, in the course of which the Communists showed great devotion and an excellent spirit of initiative, has led to a considerable increase in the number of factory groups.

The Paris city region, which had 204 factory groups on January 1, 1936, was able to record 349 on July 1, although this is a far from complete figure. In this region a census established that on January 1, 1936, there were 2,178 Communists organized in factory groups. This figure grew to 2,718 by April 1, and to 5,221 by July 1.

The extension of our network of factory groups at a moment when there is an influx into our Party of peasants, small traders, artisans and intellectuals is a very important problem. For if we want to embrace all the various social categories which make up the working population of France, if we want really to be the Party of the people, it is absolutely indispensable that the proletariat should constitute the main base of the Party.

Our policy of uniting the French people, based on the defense of the interests of all categories of working people, whether it be a question of the wage of the worker, of benefits for the unemployed, of safeguarding the shop of the petty trader, and of the property of the small peasant or of the small or middle employers, brings into the Party people of various social groupings, who are frequently far from having overcome the effects of their environment.

They join our Party, full of enthusiasm and confidence, and with a deep feeling that our Party is the only one capable of protecting their interests and of solving the social problems which are at the present moment agitating millions of human beings. But they come without any preliminary ideological training, and at times even with prejudices, and with their traditions. They are often accessible to the ideological influence of the enemy. But once they have become members of the Party in a period when big struggles are developing, it is upon the Party that the task falls of making them conscious and active Party members, completely devoted to the cause of Communism.

THE PROBLEM OF PERSONNEL

The colossal growth of the membership is facing the Party with the problem of personnel in all its complexity.

It cannot be solved by organizing a few Party schools as has been done up to now. It is a question of the education of masses, of the preparation of *thousands* of trained personnel.

What means have we at our disposal in this sphere?

The Party is paying great attention to the publication of Marxist-

eninist literature, to the distribution of cheap popular pamphlets, on oth theoretical and current problems, reproducing speeches and reports elivered by leading Party comrades. These publications are much ppreciated by the members, who have a great thirst for knowledge.

For example the pamphlets giving the chief reports and speeches ade at the Congress of Villeurbanne have circulated in 214,630 copies.

We have developed the practice of holding meetings of active Party workers in the local Party organizations, during which an experienced omrade, usually sent down by the higher body (Section or District) xplains the policy of the Party and the tasks of the day, taking into ccount the specific situation in which the organization concerned has o work.

In the Paris region, where it is easier to gather our Party forces, e hold meetings of the secretaries of Party units, where discussions ake place on the basis of questions put by the speaker. This method akes it possible to link up the unit secretaries with the political adership of the Section concerned.

We also organize talks with Party members on given subjects, ollective discussions on articles, on the text of a resolution, or a speech. We are aiming at our organizations understanding their tasks in the phere of Party education, and we are encouraging them to contribute o the raising of the general level of knowledge of our members by orming libraries, which contain not only theoretical books on Marxism-eninism, but also well-known works by great French writers, as well as hilosophical and scientific works, and also by organizing collective xcursions, visits to museums, etc.

Our Party's educational department has been given the task of rganizing permanent Party schools for the purpose of preparing personnel for the staff of the Central Committee and the District Committees of the Party. In the second half year of 1935, 300 pupils passed hrough these schools:

The following are the data:

Central Party School	31	students
Central Youth School	26	"
Central Peasant School	31	"
Section Schools	212	"
Total	300	"

For the three months of June to August 228 comrades passed through hese schools.

In the plan for the last four months of 1936, five central schools ith a four weeks' course are proposed, one central school for the five aris regions, one for the whole of the Party, one for the Young Communist League and two for the peasants. Apart from that permanent ortnightly schools are to be provided in twenty districts.

About 550 students will pass through these schools.

Thus about 800 students will pass through the permanent Party chools, central or regional, in six months.

The experience gained in each school is used in order to perfect the schools, both as regards methods of teaching, the selection of students, and the material conditions which ensure the best possible conditions for study. From among the students, those who have not been placed at the disposal of the Central Committee at the end of the school are given responsible posts in the different branches of Party work (Section secretaries, members of regional committees, regional secretaries, etc.).

In addition to these schools, all the Section and local organizations of the Party organize their own schools with their own means and forces with a view to assisting in the preparation of personnel for the units and branches.

We have now started a new system of primary Party education which is to raise the ideological level of the whole membership.

It consists of five very practical, elementary lessons, once a week, closely linked up with the actual activity of the Party.

In each Section we gather meetings of all the active Party workers who already have a certain background and who are able to teach this course to their comrades. We explain what is needed, and give them advice. And we entrust twenty pupils to each one of them. For instance, in the Bagnolet (Seine) subdistrict which has 515 members, with our equipment of young teachers, in two five-week periods all our members will have received this primary education. Here can be seen the advantage we obtain from this method, which we will be able to improve by experience. Not only do we give our members the basic ideas of political knowledge, but a certain number of them go further in order to continue their education. On the other hand, we are forming a body of teachers, the training of whom will enable the Party to deal with work on the educational field on a far wider scale.

Among the new members we are finding people of remarkable ability who are developing with great rapidity and whom the leading committees must follow up and help.

FORMS OF PARTY WORK

The question of personnel is not the only one which demands our attention. There are other new problems facing us which we have to solve.

What should be done so that every Party member feels that the Party is a large family in which each one helps the other, where each one brings the best of himself according to his abilities, his special knowledge?

Of course, everyone must be a member of a unit. But we are no longer faced with groups of five to ten members. There are groups of twenty, thirty, forty members. And if the work is easy to organize in a factory group composed exclusively of the workers of the given factory, it is considerably less so in a street or local group in which workers, small traders, unemployed, housewives, a small rentier, an architect, and an artist, etc., meet together.

How can the members of the Party who are intellectuals, for example, give the most service to the Party?

They can conduct educational classes, write for the papers, but they

n also carry on special work in extending the influence of the Party nong the intellectuals, and in the recruiting sympathizers.

But to achieve this means must be found within the bounds of the it itself, for them to see, meet and discuss with each other in con- ction and in agreement with the Section or the District.

Let us take a particular category of the working population such architects. The government resulting from the People's Front has set going a plan of big public works. This will interest the town pulation as well as the rural populace, the municipalities and the partments.

The architects know this kind of work. It is their field of work. eir knowledge can be profitably used so as to direct the activity of e Party along definite channels, to serve as a guide to the Party's tive workers.

And doctors? And women?

Let us take an example of what happened recently at Marseilles. me women who joined the Party said to the regional Party secretary, r Comrade Billoux: *"We are housewives, we must look after our mes, we have to prepare dinner for our husbands, and we cannot meet l 3 o'clock in the afternoon."* The reply was as follows: *"Form a group d hold your meetings at 3 o'clock."* And what sort of work have they en doing? They have undertaken to investigate the conditions of rking class families; they visit workers' homes, and discover what ople are in need of help, as well as the nature of the help required, d which children by reason of their condition are in need of atten- n, etc.

They give the information they have acquired to the comrades elected councils, etc., who intervene to help the unfortunate families. They int out to Party or sympathetic doctors, children whose health it uld be useful to examine. And it often happens, as a result of this amination, that action is taken to send the child for prophylactic atment or to a sanatorium.

Isn't this a fine example of Communist work?

What have been the results of this action, which is only beginning, strengthening the Party? Eighty women have joined, with the tement: "If that is the Communist Party we are with it."

Yes, that's just what the Communist Party is. It takes part in all pects of public life. It is active in all places, and thanks to a rational thod of using the activity of its members, it is able to face up to all se manifold tasks.

Our factory groups today are not like those of yesterday. It was but short time ago that we had only relatively weak organizations in the ge factories. Our comrades had to work in exceedingly difficult con- ions, and be very careful. Otherwise, there was the immediate danger dismissal, and that in the middle of the economic crisis. It is clear t in such circumstances the results achieved were slow in accruing.

The weakness of the trade unions made repression by the employers sier. Now all is changed. There are factories where 95 per cent of the rkers are organized in the C.G.T. Shop stewards are officially recog-

nized by the management. The confidence of the workers in our Party has grown tremendously, and with it its responsibilities.

It is necessary to see that the work agreements and social legislation are carried out, and also to supervise the conduct of work. Our comrades who have been elected shop stewards must be helped to accomplish their difficult mission of securing good conditions for the workers and their trade union organizations.

We had to form factory groups composed of all the departmental groups in the given factory. The leadership of the factory group maintains the closest contact with the leadership of the Section concerned.

These are the new problems which call for ever greater flexibility and ingenuity in organization.

In connection with the growth of the Party, with the growth of its influence, the question of premises for the holding of Party meetings is becoming a very sharp one. The back rooms of cafes are no longer adequate. The Section Party committees must have their own rooms, attractive ones where a group can meet, where it can meet a journalist, a councillor, or any other person of importance. When there is an important Communist group in a factory, this group has also need of some place of its own which can be used for the running and administration of its organization.

Our Section committees are also looking for well situated, spacious, clean, attractive rooms.

This is a reflection of the change in the internal life of the Party, right up to the Central Committee.

CHANGE IN STATUTES

The new conditions of work in the Party made it necessary at the Villeurbanne Congress to take up the question of modifying the Party statutes which date from the Lille Congress of 1926. A National Conference, to be held probably at the beginning of 1937, will have to take up and precisely define these modifications which the Party, in its Unit, Section and District meetings, will discuss for several months.

These modifications in our statutes are an even greater indication of the democratic character of our Communist Party.

In connection with the bringing about of trade union unity and the concessions which we had to make in order to overcome the final obstacles to the realization of this unity, we have to delete Article 49 from our Statutes which provides for the organization of Communist fractions "in all workers' and peasants' organizations and bodies".

Article 55 which defines the relations between the Party and the Young Communist League also disappears in the draft statutes. This is directly connected with the activity of our youth, activity which is fully supported by our Party and which has in view the formation of a United Youth Federation embracing all young people now affiliated to the People's Front (Young Communists, Young Socialists, secular and republican youth, etc.). We want to facilitate the realization of this aim, for it will be an important landmark on the path which leads to unity among the French youth.

Finally, we want to substitute for the name "rayon", the name section" which is better suited to the terms to which we are accus-omed in France.

Thus, our proposal to alter the statutes does not at all touch on ndamental questions. It only has in view the adaptation of the princi-les of organizations of the Communist Party to the living content of its ctivity. It will help to make the Party capable of fulfilling the tasks acing it. The discussion of the draft statues in the organizations of the arty will therefore be a real contribution towards their final adoption.

We are making great efforts to see to it that this discussion shall e as wide as possible, in view of the fact that the bourgeois press, like he *Figaro*, is also paying attention to our modifications of the statutes. 'e are naturally very pleased at this solicitude and, if this opens to us new field for polemics, we will exert all our efforts to secure that it is s instructive as possible to the Party and the working class of France. bring out the fact still more clearly that the Party is a party of a w type, and to point out everything which makes it differ from other arties.

CONCLUSION

We have only given a sketch of the actual state of the French Party. 'e have not entered into details, but from all that has been said it is ssible to appreciate the depth of the changes which taken place in e life of our Party.

Our success is great, but we are very conscious of the difficulties our tasks, and our responsibilities. The seriousness of the internal of the international situation does not escape us. We know well that in rance we have not yet secured the achievement of the program of the eople's Front, as endorsed by the majority of the electors.

Our Party demands much from us. It has become a great and per cted instrument in the fight for the emancipation of the workers, but ose exact and delicate mechanism must be meticulously adjusted if it to work correctly and properly.

But we also know that we are built on granite. Our building rests the sure principles of Marxist-Leninist theory; we are enriched by the achers of our masters; of all the great fighters for socialism, of Marx, ngels, Lenin, Stalin and also those who in varying degrees were the sciples of the creators of Marxism, namely, Guesde, Lafargue, Jaures. e are the inheritors of the glorious past of our country, and we desire be its worthy successors. We have studied the history of the growth our country through the centuries, the life and the evolution of our ople, who in the last 150 years have known four revolutions.

In addition our Party is spreading its roots in the magnificent, ghly developed and militant proletariat of the Paris region.

We shall be able to avoid the rocks, and will conquer difficulties, for e triumph of democracy, well-being and peace over the retrograde d bestial forces of fascism, that synonym of misery, slavery and war.

Communism is the hope of our country, it is the hope of the world.

The Meeting of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. in September

A MEETING of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern took place in September, 1936.

The following questions were discussed:

1. The situation in Spain.
2. Problems of the People's Front in France.
3. Problems of the peace movement.
4. The lessons of the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center.

A representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain reported on the first point, describing the stages of the civil war in Spain. At the beginning of the struggle the government troops, thanks to the exceptional heroism of the masses of the people, were victorious over the rebels. But the intensive assistance received by the rebels from Germany, Italy and Portugal made it impossible quickly to cope with them, and protracted the civil war. Due to their tremendous technical superiority, the rebels began to press the government troops. The Largo Caballero government, which is more closely linked with the masses, replaced the Giral government. The Communist Party placed all its forces at the service of the struggle against fascism. The main point of its activity is to strengthen the People's Front, to rally the people and to increase the fighting power of the people's army. By its persistent work and its stubborn struggle against both Right opportunist tendencies within the People's Front and against "Left" phrases, the Communist Party succeeded in convincing the other parties in the People's Front of the need to establish a regular people's army and of the need for a single military command. While calling for iron discipline in the army, the Communist Party is at the same time fighting for the organization of the rear, for increased production for military needs, and for the organized provisions of supplies at the front. While fighting for the revolutionary solution of the land question, the Communist Party is at the same time concerned that the harvest should be gathered without any loss, and that the autumn sowing be extended to the utmost. The slogans of the Communist Party are exercising an ever growing influence over the masses of workers and peasants and among the urban poor. The Communist Party is also acquiring ever growing influence among the national minorities, due to its steadfast struggle for their rights. The Communist Party is loyal to the People's Front; its slogan being: "All for the People's Front, all through the People's Front." The heroism of the working people is inexhaustible, but if victory is to be won an end must be put to the violation of discipline at the front and in the rear, and to tendencies toward quarrels regarding precedence, while a single people's army, a single military command must be established. The most energetic assistance from the international proletariat must also be rallied, after the example shown by the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The next reporter devoted part of his speech to the situation in ain. He then proceeded to the question of what the Communist Party France is doing in defense of the Spanish Republic, and pointed out at the Communist Party of France is fighting for the withdrawal of e blockade being operated against the Spanish Republic. The Com- nist Party of France is carrying on its struggle in aid of the Spanish ple in such a way as to strengthen the People's Front in France at same time.

Further, the reporter pointed to the tremendous successes of the ple's Front in France, and to the number of laws adopted by Par- ment, but at the same time emphasized the point that a watch must kept to ensure that these laws are put into operation with the ximum energy. This especially refers to the measures directed against fascist provocateurs and plotters.

The reactionaries are attempting to create division in the People's nt. The activities of the French fascists and of the reactionaries increasing. The bourgeoisie are trying to sabotage social legislation, aise the cost of living, and in this connection a serious struggle lies ad. The fascist grouping (de la Rocque and Taittinger, etc.) are rly preparing for a struggle for power, utilizing the experience of Spanish events. The Blum Government is not carrying on a suffi- tly firm or consistent struggle against the fascists.

The reporter outlined the difficulties against which the Communist ty has to battle.

Estimating the work of the Communist Party, the reporter pointed that the Party is taking the initiative in absolutely all fields of lic life, by formulating the demands of the most varied strata of working population, and is more and more winning their confidence. an example, the reporter pointed to the turn to be remarked among Catholic masses in favor of the slogans of the People's Front.

In conclusion, the reporter formulated the basic tasks as follows: preserve and strengthen the People's Front, to strengthen the ties ween the vanguard and the masses of the people, to strengthen the ed working class front, to strengthen the Communist Party, by bining ideological firmness with courage, initiative and flexibility in ics.

Then the Presidium listened to an informative report on the inter- onal congresses for peace held in Geneva and Brussels.

The last point on the Agenda was a report by Comrade Ercoli on lessons of the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center. Com- Ercoli pointed to the profound significance of the trial for the e international working class movement. The trial meant the de- e of the forces of democracy, peace and socialism and was a blow at ism. The position of the reactionary section of the Second Interna- al and of certain Social-Democratic Parties can only be explained in ection with the international situation, with the sharpening of the er of war and fascism, and with the development of the movement the united proletarian and People's Front.

Not all Communist Parties immediately understood this. Some of

them were not able immediately to beat off the attacks of the reactionaries and of Citrine and Co. with sufficient energy, by exposing their real meaning.

The question of the fight against Trotskyism must be raised in the international working class movement in a new fashion. The tremendous significance of Comrade Stalin's statement, made as far back as in 1931, to the effect that Trotskyism is the foremost detachment of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, must be thoroughly assimilated. The struggle against Trotskyism is a struggle to liberate the working class from the influence of counter-revolutionary groups, agents of fascism.

Comrade Ercoli gave clear examples taken from a number of countries to show this role of the Trotskyists as the vanguard of fascism. Vigilance must be intensified not only in the Communist Parties; the masses must be taught to be vigilant, the working class must be taught to be vigilant in respect to the Trotskyist agents of fascism.

The utilization on an international scale of the lessons of the trial will facilitate the Bolshevik training of the Party forces, especially the new forces in the growing Communist Parties; it will facilitate the strengthening of the ties between the toilers of the Soviet Union and the proletariat of the capitalist countries, the strengthening of ties between the Communist Parties and the masses, the strengthening and extension of the movement for the united and People's Front, and thus advance us forward along the line laid down by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in the struggle against fascism and war, for peace, bread and socialism.

The reports received at the Presidium, and the discussion which followed on them, as Comrade Dimitroff pointed out, threw instructive light, from many angles, on the way the policy of the united proletarian and People's Front is being carried out, on the achievements of this policy, and on the very complicated practical tasks which arise in the operation of this policy. The growth of the movement for the united and People's Front and the mustering of the forces fighting against war and fascism, said Comrade Dimitroff, are calling forth a ferocious campaign by all the enemies of the united and People's Front, who have become convinced, and who, with every day that passes, are becoming more convinced, that the path of the fascist offensive is being blocked by the barrier of the People's Front. Hence the rage of the German fascists, the campaign of the Vatican in favor of the fascist insurgents in Spain, the attempts of a number of leaders of the Second International, joined by Otto Bauer, to disrupt the movement for the united and People's Front, the howl they are all raising against the U.S.S.R. in connection with the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev bandits. On the other hand, the growth of the movement for the united and People's Front places ever new and more complicated problems before the Parties. The example of the Communist Party of France indicates that our Parties are learning how to correct mistakes made, on their own initiative and in good time.

After the close of the discussion, a number of decisions were drawn up for the fulfilment of the tasks indicated in the reports and discussion, regarding the fight against fascism, for peace, and in support of the Spanish people.

Regarding the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary

THE cases of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary were examined at a meeting of the Bureau of ıe International Control Commission of the Comintern held on June 26.

The Communist Party of Hungary, because of the sectarian line ' its Central Committee, found itself in a difficult position, politically ıd organizationally, despite the favorable ground for developing the ass struggle for the urgent interests of the workers, the peasants and her sections of the working people.

The sectarian resistance of the C.C. of the C.P. of Hungary to the ctical line given by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (expressed the Congress itself), continued also in the period which followed. The ntral Committee particularly regarded the tactics of the united front a maneuver which could only serve the purpose of exposing the Social-mocratic leaders, and did not carry the decisions of the Seventh ngress into life. As the decisions of the Seventh Congress aroused a mendous response among working people throughout the whole world, well as in Hungary, it was impossible for the sectarian elements to me out openly against these decisions. Therefore the resistance of the adership of the C.P. of Hungary to the tactical line of the Seventh ngress expressed itself in the form of ignoring and covert sabotage of e decisions of the Comintern. Maintaining that the C.P. of Hungary id not need to make a sharp turn", the C.C. did not in practice adopt e new line, even after it had been pointed out by the E.C.C.I. in De-mber of last year that further delay in this question was impersssible. The C.C. wrote an open letter to the members of the Party, ich was, however, nothing but a bureaucratic screed. In this letter e mistakes of the leadership were hidden from the members of the rty, and the most important political and organizational questions re not touched upon.

Despite the warning it had received, the C.C. did not take measures safeguard the Party, which had no possibilities for working legally d was forced to fight for the cause of the working people of Hungary der conditions of bloody terror. Absolute irresponsibility as regards estions of conspiracy became a regular phenomenon in the C.P. of ngary, against which the leadership of the Party did not carry on y struggle whatsoever. For example, at all meetings of the illegal clei, committees, etc., detailed minutes were taken as to the member-p of the organizations, decisions, etc. When these minutes fell into e hands of the enemy, they could not but cause damage to the Party d the whole working class movement.

Predominant among the methods adopted by the leadership of the

C.C. were bureaucracy, the laying down of the law, shouting, and the suppression of all criticism from below. There was no collective work in the C.C. itself, which was eaten up by an unprincipled group struggle. The "cadre" policy of the C.C. was in complete contradiction to the line of the Seventh Congress. People were drawn into Party work who had not previously been studied or tested. As a result clearly suspicious elements often made their way into the Party staff.

By carrying out a sectarian policy, and suppressing the criticism and initiative which came from below, the C.C. became completely isolated from the Party and the masses of workers.

This being the political and organizational condition of the Party, it undermined the faith of the Party members and the masses of the workers in the leadership of the C.P. of Hungary; it became easier for the class enemy to penetrate into the ranks of the Party and to deal serious blows at all its organizations. Hundreds of active members of the heroic Hungarian working class were, during these years, arrested and sentenced to penal servitude, and in many cases tortured and executed.

In addition to all this, some member of the C.C., who was at one time arrested, did not display sufficient steadfastness, and gave away confidential information about the Party to the enemy. This shameful behavior was hidden from the Party.

The C.C. did not inform the E.C.C.I. of the real state of affairs in the Party, and on more than one occasion tried to mislead it.

The International Control Commission called four members of the C.C. to account: of these, Paul Sebes (otherwise Lantos), and Dezhe Nemes (otherwise Kever and Koenig) were expelled from the Party, and Comrades Franz Gusti (Gross) and Imre Komor received severe Party reprimands.

Britain Without Capitalists*

By P.A.

EVER since 1929-31 (the outbreak of the world economic crisis and the fall of British imperialism from the gold standard), there has been a great need of a perspective for the masses of Britain, a perspective which would not only show the revolutionary way out of the crisis but would give in as concrete a form as possible a picture of what Soviet Britain would mean for the working class and for the people as a whole.

It is also necessary to meet the mass feeling, widespread since the war, that a revolution in Britain would at once mean blockade and the cutting off of food supplies. Various alarmist statements had been widely made and sedulously fostered by Tory and also Labor Party propagandists that "revolution meant starvation". It had become an urgent need to find an answer to the question for the masses in a country which imports from overseas the vast majority of its essential foodstuffs.

The book *Britain Without Capitalists*, whose authors are "a group of economists, scientists, and technicians", fulfills the requirements, and answers these questions. Already in broad outlines the Communist Party of Great Britain at its Congress in February, 1935, had given the answer in its resolution. But this book (while not in any way representing a program) gives the answer in detail, with the utmost concreteness and particularity. Just for this reason it should have the widest influence.

The method pursued is the examination severally of a dozen chief industries of Great Britain, under the heads of "Iron and Steel", "Textiles", Chemical", "Building", "Agriculture", "Coal and Power", "Transport", "Distribution", together with an introduction on the economic system as a whole and a final survey of science in relation to education. In each an analysis is made of the conditions of the industry today and also of the possibilities that could be achieved by the masses, once capitalist class rule were ended. Just as all the other "plans" proceed on "the permanent hypothesis" of the continuance of the capitalist class rule, so this group start with one premise in common, *viz*:

> "That a constructive future for the people of Britain depends on the working class and its allies taking power through organs of their own creating in a way similar to that by which the Workers' Soviets in Russia have won through to the constructive achievement of socialism."

The book, which is a mine of information about British industry,

* *Britain Without Capitalists*: a study of what industry in a Soviet Britain could achieve. By a group of economists, scientists and technicians. Lawrence & Wishart, London. 468 pp. and index. Price 8/6 net.

shows how building and textiles, for example, suffer from extreme anarchy of production, the debris remaining over from the nineteenth century individualist competition, while chemicals suffer from the opposite evil of a single capitalist monopoly, with its cramping effect on the productive forces. It shows how, while the basic and staple industries of Britain have been declining, distribution has swollen like a parasite. There were in the year 1934 only 365,000 Lancashire cotton textile workers as compared with 621,000 before the war. But distributive workers in 1934 were *over two millions* as compared with a million and a quarter only eleven years earlier. The analysis of the causes and effects of this contradiction might well be reprinted as a most telling brochure both for the workers in heavy and staple industries and also for the masses of cooperators, small traders, commercial travelers, etc.

It can be said that this book, appearing when British imperialism is appearing to boast a revival of trade, returning prosperity, etc., deals a deadly blow at "Britain with capitalists" as it exposes the conditions of one industry after another.

The second part of each chapter is devoted to the change that would be brought about in Soviet transport, Soviet textiles, etc., etc., inside Britain. In this, as the authors acknowledge, they are bound to understate the effect of the change, because their method of treatment compels them to omit the interrelations and interactions of all the forces released inside a free, socialist Britain.

But, nevertheless, even with this understatement, the picture that emerges of this old country awakening from the drugged slumber of monopoly capitalism is inspiring, both for the creation of hatred against capitalism and of revolutionary zeal to build a new Britain. And all of it is achieved by a critical analysis, based on figures, statistics, books of reference, bourgeois authorities.

In such a book it would be impossible to avoid inequalities and detail points on which further examination might lead to different conclusions. The dozen authors recognize this; and since a separate volume —on social and political aspects of Soviet Britain—remains to be done, the criticisms made here may also in some matters be useful for the second volume as well as for a second edition of this book. There is no uniformity, and sometimes not full clarity in dealing respectively with the morrow of the revolution, the transition period, socialism and communism. This is a matter of importance in winning allies for the working class.

Technically, the book gives the impression that its dozen anonymous authors are masters at their craft, with full technical knowledge of their respective industries.

The general technical excellence of the book will commend it to wide circles of intellectuals whose empiric tradition, predisposing them against communism, will thus be taken in flank.

For the masses of workers and petty bourgeoisie this book should have a revolutionizing effect.

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